

Max J. Friedländer

Early Netherlandish
Painting

Dieric Bouts and
Joos van Gent

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'This new edition, translated from the German, brought up-to-date in some respects and augmented by about two-thousand new illustrations, will not so much revive (which would not be necessary) as make more readily accessible, more useful and, if only by way of comparison with the original, more pleasurable one of the few uncontested masterpieces produced by our discipline. These fourteen volumes—their publication begun at Berlin in 1924 and, after the appearance of Vol. XI in 1933, continued at Leyden from 1935 to 1937—summarize and conclusively formulate what M. J. Friedländer knew and thought about a field which he, with only Ludwig Scheibler and Georges Hulin de Loo to share his pioneering efforts, had been the first to survey and to cultivate. And what M. J. Friedländer then knew and thought will never cease to be worth learning.' (From the Preface by E. Panofsky)

Dieric Bouts and Joos van Gent

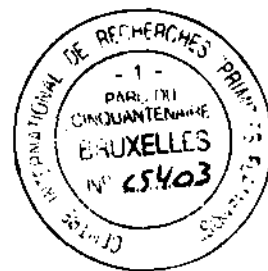


Max J. Friedländer

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VOLUME III

Max J. Friedländer



Dieric Bouts and Joos van Gent

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Foreword

Continuing my thread, I must next speak of Dieric Bouts, who was active in Louvain between 1450 and 1475. I shall examine his relationship to Rogier van der Weyden and consider whether his art can tell us anything about the obscure beginnings of Dutch painting, and if so to what extent. Dieric came to Louvain from Haarlem; and whatever else we know of painting, as it was practised in Haarlem—especially the work of Albert van Ouwater—falls within our purview. As for the work of Dieric's followers, it is recorded in the main in the Catalogues. In turn comes Joos van Wassenhove, more commonly called Joos van Gent, who was active in Antwerp, Ghent and Urbino between 1460 and 1480. The literature in respect of Dieric Bouts is not very helpful, apart from the successful documentary research by the Louvain archivist, Edward van Even. The monograph by Arnold Goffin (*Thiery Bouts*, van Oest, Brussels, 1907) offers no more than simple compilation, while the rather critical study by Paul Heiland (*Dierick Bouts*, dissertation, Strasbourg, 1902) suffers from a basic fallacy. With a bias stemming—so far as I know—from the teachings of Karl Voll, Heiland severs a number of major works, including the Munich triptych with the *Adoration of the Kings*, from the master's oeuvre. As for Joos van Gent, the searching exposition of Schmarsow in his dissertation (*Joos van Gent*, Leipzig, 1912) is of outstanding merit. As a result of his study of Italian painting, especially his tireless work on behalf of Melozzo da Forlì, Schmarsow was able to pinpoint certain Urbinesque paintings, in which the Netherlander at the very least had a hand. What he was after was to distinguish the Italian and Flemish elements in them. I happen to have reached conclusions different from his, but I gladly confess that my way was pointed by his observations, which are marked by purposiveness and profundity.

Whatever else I have read has left me with that irksome feeling known to every art lover—the feeling that all these words are of absolutely no concern to me. They are merely empty talk and purple passages, dressed up in the guise of learned argumentation.

One reason—though by no means the only one—for what I conceive to be a general and growing incapacity to engage in meaningful stylistic analysis may lie in the manner in which reproductions are misused. These have become more accessible, as the originals have become less so. More and more people seem to base their judgments on photographs, without doing us the courtesy of telling us which works they have or have not seen in the flesh. Yet pictures speak as a whole, the sum of every least quality counts. Now photographs—to say nothing of the halftone engravings made from them—contain but part of the substance that matters. The proper task of stylistic analysis, in respect of 15th century Netherlandish panel painting, lies in encompassing the personal element, which shows least in the composition as such, the very thing the reproduction tends to emphasize and isolate. For original pictorial ideas were the exception, as we know from the fact that an outstanding characteristic of Netherlandish painting of that period was the con-

stant copying and repetition of standard compositions. It is in the execution rather than the invention that the personal touch manifests itself; and this means that one must watch for subtle qualities imperceptible in reproduction. The open brushwork that grew popular in the 17th century may come across in reproduction, like a species of handwriting; but an eye dulled by too much printer's ink may fail to note that the firm, incisive, enamel-like *matière* of older pictures is no less individually varied, although in more delicate nuances.

We labour under the additional difficulty that our stock of pictures is not only meagre, but adulterated as well. The panels that have come down to us from the 15th century no longer look as they once did. Time has had a chance to wreak its havoc. By a slow but steady process, the pigment layer first becomes petrified, then crumbles. A check to this decay is attempted, with more or less success, by nourishing the pigment body with oily essences. These varnish layers tend to darken the coloration, obscuring and falsifying it; and furthermore, they level out whatever relief the surface possessed. Some pictures have received many coats of varnish, others few. Here the varnish may have been cleaned off radically, often together with part of the original pigment. There it may have been preserved, wholly or in part. Both in ancient times and modern, restorers have patched up flaws, have gone over broad reaches, beautifying them according to their own tastes. Taking all these circumstances into account, one begins to understand that each painting has suffered its own individual destiny, may have aged in a distinctive way. One of the fundamentals of stylistic analysis is—or should be—to establish the state of preservation of a painting, to determine that part of it that may be considered original. Such a determination is, of course, possible only in the presence of the picture, never from a reproduction. Only constant intercourse with the pictures themselves develops that sense of discernment that immediately notes an obscurity, a distortion, a falsification—as it does even the slightest remnant of the painter's original work.

My text is surely freighted with deficiencies and inadequacies; but the source of error that flows from the misuse of reproductions—that source, at least, should and could be stopped up in some degree; and I trust I have done so.

Life and Work of Dieric of Haarlem

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We first grow familiar with the art of Dieric in the form of the surviving works he created in Louvain towards the end of his life. One of the tasks that faces us is to add to the 'authenticated' and dated paintings others that satisfy the criteria of stylistic analysis, thereby establishing stages that precede and explain the thoroughly documented final phase and thus casting light on the master's growth and development. The two 'authenticated' works are the altarpiece of the Sacrament in the church of St. Peter in Louvain (18, Plates 26-32) and the two paintings, *The Judgment of Emperor Otto*, in the Brussels museum (33, Plates 48-50). The altarpiece was done between 1464 and 1468. Its authorship is certain, for we have the master's receipt for the final payment, written in his own hand. As for the two Brussels panels, they are beyond question identical with the documented commission Bouts was prevented only by his death from completing for the town council of Louvain. The master died in the spring of 1475. The commission called for four panels, but only two had been executed at the time of his death, and one of these was not quite finished. Thus runs the testimony of the documents. Apart from the fact that the two Brussels panels actually come from the town hall at Louvain, their state is in complete accord with the documentation. One of the two panels is indeed weaker than the other, and parts of it are obviously not by the master's hand. The altarpiece of the Sacrament is the earlier of the two works, and the painter was at the peak of his mastery when he worked on it; whereas age, illness and forebodings of death assailed him while he laboured over the panels for the town council. Even a comparison of these two works affords a glimpse of the line of development, which we must now seek to extend into the past with the help of other paintings employed for comparative stylistic analysis. One of these, the *Portrait of a Man* in the London National Gallery, is inscribed with the date 1462 (12, Plate 20). Let us consult the biographical data. Bouts was not born in the town where he settled permanently and met with success—he was born in Haarlem. The authority for this statement is van Mander, whom we may well believe in this instance, for certain traits in the master's style are plausibly explained by a Dutch origin. There is certainly no confusion of identities in van Mander's report, for the biographer tells of an altarpiece, on which occurred the inscription: *1462 heeft Dirck, die te Haerlem is gheboren, my te Lowen ghemaect*. The fact that the master exchanged Haarlem for Louvain—and before 1462, at that—is thus corroborated.

1. *Descrittione di Tutti i Paesi Bassi*, Italian edition of 1567, p. 98.

As far as we can check, Guicciardini's list of painters' names¹ is reasonably accurate in a chronological sense. In it the brothers van Eyck and Rogier van der Weyden are immediately followed by Memlinc, as a pupil and follower of Rogier; and then come *Lodovico da Lovano*, *Pietro Crista*, *Martino d' Holanda*, *Giusto da Guanto*. Two of these four names ring no bell for us—they mark gaps in our knowledge. We are ignorant of any Louis of Louvain and Martin of Holland. From the context into which their names are fitted, we may conclude that they were active between 1440 and 1470. It is only after enumerating these masters that the Italian

mentions *Ugo d'Anversa* (Hugo van der Goes) and, with the decided accolade of *grandissimo artefice*, *Dirick da Lovano* (Dieric Bouts). In the first edition of his *Vite* (1550) Vasari mentions *Lodovico da Lovano* as well as *Martino*, although he gives the latter the cognomen *d'Holanda* only in his second edition (1568).

The names of two painters occur in the archives of the town of Ghent, either of whom may have been the Martin who was still famous in 1550. There was Jehan Martin, active from 1420 onwards, and Nabor Martin, who was hard at work and highly respected between 1440 and 1450. A mural in the Boucherie in Ghent has been mentioned in connection with the latter master, not altogether without reason². Unfortunately, stylistic analysis is unable to accomplish very much with this heavily overpainted fresco.

The appearance of a Dutchman in Ghent would be a matter of great interest to art historians, but the combination is dubious, for in one case Martin seems to be a Christian name, in the other a surname. However that may be, the immigration of one Dutchman is attested, although to Louvain rather than Ghent. Dieric Bouts was a Dutchman by origin. In Haarlem, van Mander came upon a certain tradition in respect of this painter³. He reports: 'It is an old tradition that excellent, if not the very best, painters of the Netherlands worked in Haarlem in ancient or at least very early times; and this tradition ought not to be denied, neither should it be neglected, for it is confirmed by the two masters, Ouwater and Geertgen tot Sint Jans, already mentioned as well as by Dieric of Haarlem, who was a painter of exceptional excellence at this early time. I have not been able to discover who was his teacher. In Haarlem, he lived in Cruysstraet, near the orphanage, in an old-fashioned little gabled house decorated with heads in relief. It would seem, however, that he also dwelt in Louvain in Brabant; for in Leyden I saw an altarpiece with shutters by his hand, the centrepiece showing a head of Christ, while the shutters showed heads of Sts. Peter and Paul. Underneath stood in letters of gold in Latin: *In 1462 after the birth of Christ Dieric, who was born in Haarlem, made me in Louvain. May he have his share of peace everlasting*. These heads, approximately life-size, are excellently painted for that time, very fine, with beautiful hair and beards. This work may be seen at the house of Jan Gerritsz Buytewegh and is the only one I can prove to be by his hand, but it is enough to show how excellent a painter was Master Dieric and at what time he lived and created works of such perfection.'

Van Mander's data are confirmed and supplemented in the town archives of Louvain⁴. In an entry of 12th July 1476⁵, there is an explicit statement that the master was born elsewhere (*nativi extra patriam*). Entries in the Louvain archives relating to Dieric go back to 1460. In that year, the estate of his parents-in-law was distributed. He had chosen his first wife, Catherine van der Bruggen, nicknamed *Metten Gelde* (the one with the money), from a wealthy Louvain family. She bore him four children—Dieric, Albert, Catherine and Gertrude. Sometime between 28th January and 11th March 1473, Bouts was married a second time, to Elisabeth van Voshem, widow of a burgomaster. On 25th August 1475, this lady is again described as a widow. Dieric's last will and testament is dated 27th April 1475. Molanus gives the day of his death as 6th May, which is plausible enough, but he associates it with other dates that are rather confused⁶. According to van Even, the manuscript entry in Molanus, which has been so often misinterpreted, reads:

2. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, German edition, p. 199 ff.

3. German edition, p. 70 ff.

4. Most of the material was found and published by Edward van Even. Cf. especially *Thierry Bouts, Six Lettres à M. Alphonse Wanters*, Louvain, 1864.

5. Van Even, *loc. cit.*, p. 10.

6. Van Even, *loc. cit.*, p. 15.

i. *Mortuus anno aetatis 75, domini 1400, die 6 maii. Ejus et filiorum ejus Theodorici et Alberti effigies extant apud Minores, e regione Suggestus.* *Claruit inventor in describendo rure, i opus sunt in Ecclesia Divi Petri duo altaria Venerabilis Sacramenti, quae multum ex arte commendantur.*

2 *Theodorici filii.*

The date of death, 1400, is clearly wrong. Probably it is a simple slip of the pen by Molanus, who meant 1400 as the year of birth, which would, of course, be correct, if he gives the right age.

The note at the right is an addition which refers, of course, to the father, who is said to be a celebrated landscape painter, and whose two altarpieces in St. Peter's are mentioned, almost certainly the triptych with the *Last Supper* and the St. Erasmus triptych.

There must be lingering doubts about the year of birth. If 1400 is accepted, then Bouts contracted a second marriage at an improbably advanced age, in 1473. A check is available in the form of the self-portrait embodied in the altarpiece of the Sacrament, painted about 1467. The man seen by the sideboard on the right has been convincingly regarded as representing the painter himself. Does he look 67 years old? None can declare dogmatically that he must have been younger.

Bouts married for the first time in Louvain. The date has not been established, but it can be approximated, yielding the time when he settled in the town, a matter of some significance to art historians. His eldest son Dieric married early in the year 1476⁷, hence must then have been at least 20 years old—probably somewhat older. This would mean that his birth falls into the time around 1455. Consequently, the elder Bouts must have been married and settled in Louvain by 1454. The centre-piece of the altarpiece of the Sacrament shows a serving-hatch framing bust-length figures of two young men, whom we are inclined to identify as the painter's sons. One of them is definitely under age, while the other seems to be close to his majority. If the identification is correct, we would have to put back the birth year of the elder son to about 1448, and consequently the father's marriage and settling in Louvain about 1445.

We can take it that Dieric Bouts was born in Haarlem in the year 1400 or a few years later, that he received his training there and worked there for a while. Unless we admit that the master did indeed work in Haarlem, we are hard put to it to account for van Mander's story. Surely the gabled house pointed out in Haarlem must have been the master's residence. The birth house of a son of the town who had become famous elsewhere would scarcely have been shown. This would have been a suspiciously modern type of hero worship. About 1445 Bouts emigrated to Louvain, where he was married and became part of a community which he served loyally until his death.

We first see Dieric's art in the form he had developed after working in Louvain for a considerable period. Whatever the time may have been when he came to Louvain, it is certain to have been a time in which Rogier van der Weyden's art was dominant. Louvain was the location of the *Descent from the Cross* and belonged to the Brussels town painter's immediate demesne. Bouts, coming from Holland, had to accept the art forms that prevailed in these more southerly regions. To isolate his individual (and possibly Dutch) character, we must subtract the stylistic pressure

7. Van Even, *loc. cit.*, p. 22.

that emanated from Rogier. We should be looking for three stages—first his native Dutch manner, then change and dissimulation arising from the impact of the Southern challenge, and finally transfiguration after the elements had mingled and blended. At this third stage we find the master's 'authenticated' works, done between 1462 and 1475.

The Low Countries today consist of two states that are sharply distinct in a political sense. The scholar who delves into cultural history, cannot help but think of this region in terms of two ethnic identities that differ in race, social system and religion. When one regards the 15th century and seeks to bring order into the meagre stock of pictures that have come down to us from that time, this divisive notion has a way of insinuating itself, in an obstinate and prejudicial way. Yet in historical context, there is some sense in delimiting the Dutch strain in Dieric's art. In Flanders and Brabant, this strain fits into the course of development directly upon the heels of Rogier's style and before Joos van Ghent, Hugo van der Goes and Hans Memling. What we mean by 'Dutch strain' is an approach saturated with direct observation. But precisely therein lies a danger, for we are prone to overlook that the term has co-ordinates not only in a geographical sense, but also in time. There is a history, a background to this Dutch element, but whether it had real existence as early as 1440 is hard to determine. In a political sense, no border as yet separated the Northern from the Southern provinces in the 15th century. The Netherlands then formed a unitary region; or rather, the dynastic and economic discrepancies within it were not yet marked by that sharp division that severed the Protestant North from the Catholic-Hapsburg South in the course of the 16th century; yet in terms of culture and race, those opposing forces that later found political outlets must have been already present in germinal form. We look for the ancestors of a Rembrandt on one side of the line, for those of a Rubens on the other.

In the 15th century those forces that were to part ways in the 16th century were vigorously intermingled. It was chiefly the peasants who were rooted to the soil, while the urban craftsmen, the goldsmiths and painters freely changed their place of residence. We know of scarcely one 15th century Netherlandish painter who remained to work in the town where he was born. When all these circumstances are taken into account, suspicion must attach to any observations in respect of geographical and racial relationships, and to any conclusions flowing from them.

Comparatively speaking, the towns of Holland were poor. The men of the North led a hard life, locked in battle with the sea. The soil did not yield very much. On the other hand, the towns of Flanders and Brabant were blessed with trade and commerce. Bruges, Brussels, Ghent, Lille and Louvain, particularly, felt the direct and indirect stimulation of the Franco-Burgundian court, exerted through commissions and demand, as well as the example of luxurious living. Scarcely a gleam of this regal splendour reached the North. We see that the characteristics that were sooner or later to find expression in the political and religious spheres were rooted in economic conditions.

The towns of Flanders and Brabant were unable to maintain the integrity of their racial heritage. As early as the 15th century there began an influx of alien elements, particularly into the higher social strata which were so vital to the growth of culture. Officials and hangers-on at the Franco-Burgundian court, Italian

merchants, clerics from many parts—these were the patrons and consumers that set the style of art. In the political and military conflicts of the day, the Southern provinces remained tied to Rome, Hapsburg and Spain, and this implies spiritual thralldom at an early age. The Northern provinces developed a sense of national autonomy and religious independence that gave them the strength to win victory, and this implies a predisposition towards individuality at an early age.

Artistic production predicates affluence, possessions beyond bare necessity; and if the Dutch contributed towards the development of Netherlandish painting as early as the 15th century, their native endowment is all the more admirable in the light of the unfavourable economic circumstances that prevailed among them.

In the interplay of forces between North and South, the Dutch gave more than they took. The painter from Haarlem made Louvain his goal; none went the opposite way. The country's poverty in the 15th and early 16th centuries restricted the opportunities for employment open to people engaged in the arts. A certain drain of painting talent is discernible, with the Rhineland, the cities of the Hanseatic league, the wealthy towns of Flanders as the beneficiaries.

It is instructive to compare the state of book production. The art of illumination flourished in the South, especially in Bruges and Ghent. In Holland there were far fewer signs of the passion, entrenched in court life, for the written word, the preciously illuminated book, and also for the art of the tapestry weaver and the jeweller. The miniatures created in the North⁸ never reached the state of refinement that marks book illumination in Flanders. This discrepancy is all the more remarkable in that Netherlandish panel painting developed within the stylistic framework of book illumination.

Printing flourished in Holland at an early date⁹—almost as early and vigorously as in Germany. Haarlem has a good claim to share in the glory of the invention of printing. The oldest and best 'block books' were printed there. Haarlem, Gouda, Delft and Schiedam became important centres of printing by 1470; and all this zeal bespeaks a democratic, popular, Germanic culture. The pressure of tradition was less effective in the North than in the South—at least in the field of formal idiom and visual approach. All creativeness, of course, feeds on the observation of nature, on the one hand, and is guided, on the other hand, by compulsions that stem from school, tradition, habit, art forms commonly seen; but the men of the North were comparatively freer and more self-assertive in this respect than those of the South.

It is with considerable expectancy that we approach the remnants of early Dutch panel painting; and there is particularly wide scope for prejudice for there are so few remaining specimens to study and go by. The excesses of the iconoclasts in 16th century destroyed almost the entire ecclesiastical art of Holland.

We cannot expect to find the Dutch strain in pure and unadulterated form in Dieric's works, especially those of his late period in Louvain.

The altarpiece of the Sacrament consists of a central panel showing the *Last Supper*, which has never left the church of St. Peter in Louvain, and of four other pictures, which make up the insides of the shutters, in tiers of two (18, Plates 26-32). At one time, these shutters presumably carried paintings on the outside as well, but of these nothing is preserved. The surviving shutter paintings went by pairs into the Boisserée and Bettendorf collections in Aachen (11), later to the Munich Pinako-

8. Cf. A.W. Byvanck and G.J. Hoogewerff, *Nord-nederlandsche Miniaturen in Handschriften der 14e, 15e en 16e Eeuwen*, Nijhoff, The Hague (after 1922).

9. Cf. M.J. Schretlen, *Dutch and Flemish Woodcuts of the 15th Century*, Benn, London, 1925.

thek and the Berlin museum. A clause imposed by the Treaty of Versailles brought them back to Louvain and rejoined them to the centrepiece. The Berlin pieces, *Elijah in the Desert* and the *Feast of Passover*, are well preserved, as is the centre panel, which has received fewer coats of varnish and is therefore a bit duller and drier in effect. The Munich panels, *Abraham and Melchizedek* and the *Gathering of Manna*, have been extensively cleaned—overcleaned in places—and like so many pictures from the Boisserée collection ‘beautified’ by means of fake glazing (21). If it is taken as probable that one complete shutter went to the Boisserée, the other to the Bettendorf collection, then the two Berlin pictures must have been arranged one above the other, and on the left side, at that, as follows from the perspective construction of the *Feast of Passover*. If the probability that the two Berlin panels come from the same shutter is disregarded, the most pleasing and satisfying arrangement of the units would be as follows (31):

Abraham and Melchizedek

Gathering of Manna

Last Supper

Feast of Passover

Elijah in the Desert

The horizon in the *Elijah* painting is a little lower than in the other two landscapes, which were presumably intended as an opposing pair in the upper tier.

The altarpiece offers a detailed view of the master’s art as it was about the year 1464. Whether he was born in 1400 or a bit later, he was certainly in full possession of his power at that time. He displays the assurance and autonomy of an established reputation. Clearly, he bent the greatest care and effort to this commission, which came to him from neither prince nor individual patron, but from a devout society. Bouts was working for the community whose member he felt himself to be—or at least for a part of that community.

Rogier van der Weyden died just as this altarpiece was begun. Dieric was of different disposition and origin from Rogier; and one of his first problems in his new hometown must have been to prevail and to maintain his position beside Rogier. By the time Rogier died, Dieric had managed in many respects to rise above his rival, who was of the same age as he.

Since the central panel is twice as high as each of the side pictures, a threat to the overall harmony of the altarpiece lay in the possibility that the figures in the middle might overwhelm those on the side, reducing them to doll-like stature. This discrepancy in proportions the master managed to soften by moving the table of the *Last Supper* a little to the back, leaving vacant a rather broad band below and to the fore, which he enlivened solely by means of an elaborate pattern of tiling.

As a whole, the piece—particularly the *Last Supper*—is astonishingly successful in creating the illusion of depth. The lighting too is done with surprising consistency, rooted in observation. The central chamber is correctly constructed in strict linear perspective, converging towards a central point, as are the connecting rooms and the views outdoors through windows and doors. The figures stand and sit in the hall, enclosed by three walls, floor and ceiling at right angles to one another, and they are in proper proportion to the well-lighted and well-organized room. The reality of the occasion is enhanced by the realism of the locale. We can imagine these men entering the chamber through its doors, taking their places at the table, all in proper order. Yet the group is invested with a certain symbolic rigidity, despite

the realism of the immediate environment and the lighting. In the centre line on the far side of the table, Jesus is seen in half-length, slightly larger than the other men, the only one in complete full-face, dominating the scene without show of force. The disciples are shown in profile or half-face, turned towards the accented main figure. The mouldings in the fireplace, crossing at the top of the Saviour's head, the large round metal dish at the centre of the table in front of him, further down the drooping framework of the table cloth—all these elements emphasize the sense of awe and solemn detachment with which the main figure is placed at the heart of the whole altarpiece. Towards the sides, the rigid hieratic symmetry is relaxed. The two Apostles on the near side of the table, their heads turned sideways, become subordinate figures. The spiritual order of rank is observed with every compositional means, including the lighting and choice of colours. This master did not see it as his task to lend dramatic enhancement to a gathering of ecclesiastical and ceremonial significance. Bouts was not so much concentrating upon an incident in the Saviour's life, a turn in his destiny, his leavetaking from his disciples, as upon the institution of the Sacrament, which Christian doctrine views as the true meaning of the Last Supper. Christ's ritual gesture is intended not only for his companions at table, but for a larger congregation; and the Apostles are not so much moved by the sorrow of parting as—judging from facial expression and gesture of hand—pervaded by a sense of devoutness. They are, in a sense, representatives of that larger congregation. A few subsidiary figures with portrait characteristics have been added as modest embellishments—spiritually they take part in the proceedings in much the same way as the disciples; and Judas is not sharply singled out as an intruder in the group by his obduracy or repentance—he is half lost in obscurity.

The subsidiary portrait subjects—the clean-shaven man with folded hands, hovering behind St. Peter near the figure of Jesus, the older man in a tall cap standing by the sideboard in the antechamber on the right, and lastly the two young men seen through the open serving-hatch—these disrupt the symmetrical structure and are thus set apart as not really belonging where they are, as tolerated intruders, as servitors who have been smuggled in. The man behind St. Peter, who has ventured forth farthest, is likely to be a representative of the society that commissioned the altarpiece, perhaps a burgess of Louvain, whose work in raising the funds for this gift was particularly meritorious. The figure at the right has long been considered a self-portrait of the painter. Nor is this assumption contradicted by a comparison with the putative Bouts portrait we possess in an engraving from the time around 1570, in the well-known series of painters' portraits published by the widow of Jerome Cock. The young men are presumably the painter's assistants or apprentices—possibly his two sons¹⁰. Bouts has managed to capture the awkward and diffident air of the Apostles, as they begin to become involved in the proceedings, their colloquies and subtle reactions to the Saviour's words and deeds. The dramatic motives merely stir the surface of a sea of devotion, and the individuality of the guests is restrained under the spell of the sublime moment.

The figures are lean and narrow-shouldered, their arms glued to their sides. The painter has taken the usual care to distinguish the Apostles, one from another, by hair colour and cut of beard; yet in mood and cast of mind they are members of one family, one community.

10. See p. 13, above.

The four representations on the insides of the shutters are taken from the Old Testament, feedings and hospitalities that the Middle Ages liked to think of as preliminary stages, anticipations of the Last Supper, associated with the institution of the Sacrament—the Jewish *Feast of Passover*, *Elijah in the Desert*, to whom an angel brings food, *Abraham Welcoming Melchizedek*, and proffering him food, and the *Gathering of Manna*. In depicting these scenes, the master was under no such firm iconographical compulsion as in the scene from the gospels, and his personal idiom becomes discernible to a far greater degree. In his desire to picture curious incidents, remote in time and place, he shows himself given to choosing rich and colourful dress. The pointed hats of the Jews, the Oriental turban, the curly black hair and luxuriant growth of beard—all these serve him as special historical touches.

The *Feast of Passover*, with its Jews standing stiffly at table, ready for departure, is pervaded by a sense of composure, of patient obedience, of ritual practised in faith. Unhurriedly concentrating upon the task at hand, the men and women reach for food and drink. A greater sense of animation is demanded in the pictures of *Abraham and Melchizedek* and the *Gathering of Manna*. The main figures are shown kneeling and facing one another. The compositions are triangular in form, with figures standing in repose at the sides. In the *Gathering of Manna* and *Elijah in the Desert* landscape and lighting sound a harmonious musical note of their own. It is not merely that the strange, mountainous formations are thoroughly detailed—they loom massively into a bright evening sky that is shot through with the colourful hues of dusk, projecting an ominous mood, pregnant with miracles.

When we pass on to compare the two *Justice* panels in the Brussels museum with the altarpiece of the Sacrament, we encounter considerable difficulty (33, Plates 48, 50). The very fact of their unusually large format, with lifesize figures, constitutes a quality of constraint that flung the master out of his orbit. By comparison, the execution is casual and indifferent. It is hard to tell to what degree this unsatisfactory impression is owing to the unfinished state of the panels, to subsequent intervention by other hands, or to overcleaning. Bouts was of advanced age when he did them, possibly with the mark of death already upon him, probably using assistants to help him. According to the documents¹¹, one of the panels was almost finished at his death, but not quite—without a doubt the execution scene. Here the severed head of the wrongly accused count is being presented to his faithful spouse. Some portions of this picture obtrude by their crudity and coarseness, especially the awkward figure of the man standing at the left, but also the clothed body of the count, lying on the ground. The executioner and the gown of the kneeling countess were added by a clumsy hand after the master's death and presumably overpainted at a later date, when they were felt to be irksome and unsatisfactory.

11. See p. 11, above.

In the other panel, the countess kneels before the Emperor Otto, supporting her husband's head with one hand, while the other holds a red-hot bar of iron, testifying to the innocence of the executed count—with the result that the wicked empress, who instigated the false verdict, is burned at the stake, as seen in the background. This panel is comparatively well-preserved and is surely the one Bouts completed before his death. It shows a hall, constructed in perfect linear perspective, with a richly patterned tile floor. The figures are pushed somewhat into the middle ground. The emperor, sitting rather ineffectually on his throne, is surrounded by six cour-

tiers, evidently portraying real persons. Slender, stork-legged creatures, they are arranged in stiff groups of two. In the essentials of expression, modelling, lighting and formal idiom we find the language of the altarpiece of the Sacrament echoed, but there is an increment of freedom, a decrement in precision and concentration, which demand explanation. Even when we take into account the unusually large format, which creates some vacant spaces, and the ripening maturity of the aging master, some features of the paintings remain puzzling. The brittle and forbidding character that is part and parcel of the Louvain master seems now to have been overcome. The countess kneeling before the emperor is more than a sentimental figure—she actually moves us. She surpasses our expectations, and in one particular direction—she carries a hint of Hugo van der Goes. By 1475, Hugo van der Goes had been working in Ghent for some years, a mature master of great renown. A memorable document informs us that he was summoned to Louvain as an expert, to evaluate the work Bouts had left unfinished, i.e. the *Justice* panels; and that he set the sum that was to be paid Dieric's heirs. Furthermore, a triptych Bouts did for a citizen of Bruges shows donor figures by the hand of Hugo van der Goes, it is widely agreed. Clearly, in the time around 1475, the Ghent master was felt to be the Louvain master's worthy successor. Are we entitled to believe he was Dieric's pupil for a while, his studio associate? Is this assumption corroborated in his own work? Without attempting to answer these questions at this time, I should like to point out two possibilities that may explain the style of the *Justice* pictures. If there was indeed a personal relationship between Bouts and the younger master, if Hugo did work in Dieric's studio, the pupil's stimulating audacity may have served to leaven and liberate the teacher's style. Again, at the time in question, about 1475, another assistant may have been working with Dieric in Louvain, a contemporary of Hugo van der Goes, who goaded on the Boutsian style beyond its previous limits. If Hugo van der Goes himself worked in Dieric's studio, it must have been before 1468.

The triptych with the martyrdom of St. Hippolytus in the church of St. Sauveur at Bruges (29, Plates 43-45) was commissioned by Hippolyte de Berthoz of that town and his wife Elisabeth de Keverwijck (41). The donor and his spouse are shown, kneeling, on the inside of the left shutter. The central panel shows the actual martyrdom—the body of the saint is being quartered by four horses driven in the four directions of the compass. On the right is a group of men, five standing, one kneeling. Outside, the shutters show Sts. Hippolytus and Elisabeth in grisaille, together with the arms of donor and spouse.

Viewed merely by stylistic analysis, this triptych is Dieric's work, except for the figures of the donors, added by Hugo van der Goes (51). In terms of individual characterization and animation, these transcend Bouts. The flesh tints are cool and whitish, as in the Portinari altarpiece by the Ghent master. Two hypotheses may be put forward to explain this collaboration. De Berthoz may have ordered the altarpiece as such in Louvain, but commissioned the Ghent painter to do the portraits, because he had occasion to sit for his portrait in Bruges—Hugo may have been coming to Bruges in any event, to paint Tommaso Portinari, who lived there. On the second assumption, Bouts may have died before the altarpiece was completed and the donor, under the necessity of having the missing shutter done by another master, turned to Hugo van der Goes. Whatever the truth of the matter

may be, Bouts certainly painted this altarpiece towards the end of his life, the only difference being that in the latter case the date would be established at about 1475, while in the former it would fluctuate between 1468 and 1475.

In any event, the Bruges altarpiece lacks that sense of empty grandeur in form and expressiveness peculiar to the *Justice* panels, which were certainly done about 1475. The figures are not as tall in proportion as in the panels meant for the Louvain town hall. The style is on the dainty side, a little lax and soft, compared with the altarpiece of the Sacrament. If the advanced and deviant elements that are so surprising in the *Stadhuis* pictures are taken as the last gasp of a Dieric who, in his old age, had mastered the means of expression of a new generation, then the St. Hippolytus altarpiece would have to be dated about 1472, i.e. halfway between the altarpiece of the Sacrament and the *Justice* panels.

Molanus speaks of two altarpieces in the church of St. Peter¹². The second is the triptych with the martyrdom of St. Erasmus, and with Sts. Bernard and Jerome on the shutters (8, Plates 14-16). Clearly by the same hand as the altarpiece of the Sacrament, the work needs no 'authentication.' It invites comparison particularly with the St. Hippolytus altarpiece in Bruges, for the proportions are about the same and in both pieces the theme is a cruel and terrifying execution. Bouts is again painstakingly objective in relating a story, not of cruelty as such, nor of suffering and defiance, but rather of judicial equanimity and of submission. The repulsive scene is rendered tolerable, not by the introduction of an element of passionate agitation, but by documenting it with unvarnished and sober clarity, as though it were a surgical operation. Yet its realism is overlaid with so much supernatural detachment, is so stiffly symmetrical, so pedantically clean that it has the effect of a symbolic tableau in a mediaeval mystery play.

12. See p. 13, above.

The taut tranquillity of the scene derives from the parallelism of ramrod-straight elements. The horizontal and vertical lines in the winch that serves as the instrument of martyrdom precisely follow the picture borders. The figures stand motionless, or barely astir, bathed in air, transfigured, noble and monumental. They seem to have been conceived by a sculptor, although they are seen by a painter in the natural context of the environment.

The technical execution is more careful and precise than in the St. Hippolytus altarpiece. The formal idiom inclines towards frugality and verticality. The modelling, with its vigorous shadows, achieves a high degree of illusion. The group of four men in the middle is of surprising three-dimensional realism. Nevertheless, the composition as a whole, with its emerging geometrical forms, like a system of auxiliary co-ordinates, might be called awkward and sparse. Yet one is touched, because the bare, straight lines seem to convey a sense of the painter's purity of soul. Brushwork and coloration distinguish between near and far, give saturated fulness to the solid bodies, invest the broad countryside with a mild glow. All in all, one is slowly brought round to a sense of gratitude for this work, this absurd scene of martyrdom which the master's artistry has somehow contrived to turn into one of his finest contributions.

In my opinion, the St. Erasmus altarpiece was painted a little earlier than the altarpiece of the Sacrament, but not very much earlier.

Rightly admired—perhaps more so than any other of the master's works—is the

triptych that bears the pretentious nickname, *The Pearl of Brabant*, formerly in the Boisserée collection, now in the Munich Pinakothek (24, Plates 38-40). The central panel carries an *Adoration of the Kings*, the right shutter a *St. Christopher*, the left a *St. John the Baptist*, the outsides *Sts. Catherine and Barbara* in grisaille. Every part is of equal perfection, and the whole very definitely by Dieric's own hand. The irresponsible folly that once severed this triptych from his œuvre has now been presumably overcome. Theme and scale—the figures are considerably smaller than in the altarpiece of the Sacrament—were much to the master's liking, fitted in well with his whole approach and formal idiom. He composed with unwonted ease on a limited picture area. The central group with its sinuous up-and-down lends felicitous expression to the train of the kings, their deployment by age and rank. The *Pearl* is delicate and decorative, like the work of a jeweller. Its impact is focussed, its local colour blooming, and it stands at the same level of achievement as the *St. Hippolytus* altarpiece, which it cannot have preceded by very long.

The Boisserées succeeded in acquiring this work in Mechlin, where it is supposed to have been in the private chapel of the Snoy family. According to a travel journal of 1654 (called to my attention by Mr. A. Bredius) Burgomaster Tsestich of Mechlin then owned the triptych as an old family heirloom, attributed to Hans Memlinc. Archduke Leopold had offered 5,000 guilders for it, another art lover 9,000. The finest qualities of the Louvain master seem to unfold in this blessed work without let or hindrance—his sense of space, his joy in burgeoning colour, his feeling for the mood of the countryside, for the small, teeming things of nature. The shining, crinkled water surface in the *St. Christopher* shutter, the massive, dark rocks standing out against the luminous sky with its colourful clouds, the plants, the spring, the creatures on the ground, the slug in the centrepiece leaving its gleaming trail—all this is joyously observed and fits in well with the compact tidiness and mild gravity of the figures.

We know that Bouts was commissioned to do a *Last Judgment* for the Louvain town hall at the same time as the *Justice* panels, and that he finished the former commission. Now we do indeed possess the shutters from a *Last Judgment* altarpiece, in the form of two panels, kept in the Louvre (31, Plate 47) and the Lille museum (30, Plate 46), respectively. There can be no doubt of their authorship, and if we identify them with the documented work, we gain a firm date. A document describes the *Last Judgment* in the town hall as a *clein stuck*, a small work; but it must have been considered small only by comparison with the *Justice* panels. The shutter in Lille is 69 cm. wide. Accordingly, the closed triptych must have been more than 140 cm. wide, and more than 280 cm. when open (with a height of 115 cm.). Thus the designation *clein stuck* does not seem altogether appropriate. The dimensions of the *Last Judgment* itself are given in the Louvain annals as six feet by four in width. If we put one foot at 26 cm., this would mean a height of 156 cm. and a width of 104. Perhaps the chronicler confused width and height, besides measuring with shutters closed. Only in that eventuality would the measurements given fit in with the panels in Paris and Lille, and even then only approximately. In stylistic respects, identification offers no difficulty, for the *Road to Heaven* in Lille and the *Descent of the Damned* in Paris clearly belong among the master's mature works.

The *Road to Heaven* is composed with bold naïveté. The main figure in the middle

is an angel, seen entirely from the back, with beautiful, multicoloured wings growing directly from the brocade gown. Six men and women, nearly all of them seen in side view, stride across the thick lawn. The procession is marching towards the background, with the Fountain of Salvation as its goal. The whole conception is rooted in a sense of physical distance. Hell—in the Louvre panel—is pictured as a rocky ravine, into which the nude bodies, bright against the jagged, dark, looming stone, hurl headlong. In mastering the compositional challenge, mercifully softening the horror and organizing the chaotic mass of hurtling bodies and those rearing from the rocky hollow, the painter has employed chiaroscuro with astonishing consistency.

The view we have formed on the basis of the altarpiece of the Sacrament is corroborated by several paintings that have been properly given to the master by general agreement—such as the *Virgin and Child with Sts. Peter and Paul*, in the National Gallery, London (21, Plate 36). It is not only confirmed but expanded and supplemented by a set of four panels of equal size, now preserved in the Prado at Madrid (1, Plates 1, 2). Catalogued under the name of Petrus Christus, they have suffered more than one attribution. These admirable paintings stand quite alone and deserve the most searching scrutiny. The precise style in which they are done recurs nowhere else, and their author must be accounted a great master. I am convinced he is Dieric Bouts; but in this instance I shall not slip through with a mere reference to a contention that this is self-evident.

The four panels are a *Visitation*, an *Annunciation*, a *Nativity* and an *Adoration*. Each scene is framed in a painted stone archway with sculptured figurework in the deeply recessed soffit. This is a compositional element that arose about 1435 in Rogier's workshop, as known to us from the Miraflores altarpiece. Apart from the panels in the Prado, Bouts availed himself of this form in his altarpiece in Granada; and Petrus Christus on one occasion resorted to it for its iconographical enrichment and definitive framing effect in a hitherto unknown picture (61). The acceptance of this compositional element, which was thoroughly congenial to the Rogierian style, if, indeed, Rogier did not actually invent it, falls into a definite period and must be viewed as a mark of Rogier's dominance. Among Dieric's acknowledged works, the Granada altarpiece (2a, Plates 3, 4, 6) most plainly shows Rogier's influence, in figure composition, dramatic expressiveness and even the landscape, quite apart from the painted figurework.

In my view, the four panels in the Prado hold the key to Dieric's development as an artist; but before allowing them to speak for themselves, I should like to establish their state of preservation, something that should always be done but unfortunately seldom is. The *Annunciation* is in good condition, apart from the angel's white robe. Wide areas of the *Visitation* have been worked over—the red robe of St. Elisabeth, much of the Virgin's blue robe, the landscape. The soil in the foreground too has been overpainted. The only portions well-preserved are the face of the Virgin and the hand of St. Elisabeth. In the *Nativity*, the 'restorer' has spoiled the head of the child as well as the ground surface. The *Adoration* remains virtually untouched.

When one sticks to the portions that have been preserved in their original state, one comes to enjoy that intimate and devout observation of nature which, in combination with his nobility of feeling, makes up the Louvain master's quiet strength.

The hands of the eldest king in the Adoration are detailed with consummate knowledge. They live a life of their own in space, and their lighting is carried through with the utmost consistency. No such hands had been painted since Jan van Eyck, nor were they to be painted again until Hugo van der Goes.

The qualities that obtrude themselves are the rather short stature of the figures, and the hands, smaller and bonier than we are accustomed to in Dieric's other paintings. Clearly developed space, consistent lighting, vigorous modelling, reflected highlights, the realistic textures of hair, silk, brocade, fur—all these speak for Bouts who never again reached this degree of intensity and animation in the authenticated works of his late period.

The panels in the Prado are closely associated, by their painted framework simulating stone statuary, with the altarpiece in Granada (2a, Plates 3, 4, 6), an exact replica of which is preserved in Valencia (2, Plates 3, 5). The choice of scenes for embellishing the portals, the insertion of the sculpture into the recessed soffit, the medallions with grotesque warriors in the spandrels—these agree in both works, even in those aspects that depart from Rogier, who placed his main figures at the same level as the archway, while Bouts develops them behind the arch. The Louvain master's touch was easily discerned in the Granada altarpiece, although it was precisely in this picture that the nature of the challenge compelled him to stick to Rogier's example. In the postures and the interrelationships among the figures, the *Descent from the Cross* in the centre panel is composed entirely in the Rogierian spirit. All the figures are at the same level in space, the sense of action is enhanced, the expression of sorrow is vehement. Even the types, notably that of St. John, approach the model. But if we ignore this dramatization and stretching-out process, in the present special case the expression of an ambition to equal Rogier, the panels in the Prado do fit in with the Granada altarpiece, and to our limited knowledge they represent the earliest phase of the art of Dieric Bouts. I must confess, however, that I have never studied the triptychs at Granada and Valencia with care and at leisure. In respect of these altarpieces, I have been largely dependent on inadequate reproductions 171.

The narrow left shutter shows Christ crucified, with the mourners and soldiers in crowded groups, the centre panel, the *Descent from the Cross*, the right shutter the *Resurrection*. Comparison becomes fruitful in two directions. We can hold up Rogier's solutions, which the master followed in a number of motives; and we are also in a position to adduce a typical work by Dieric from the time around 1470, the *Resurrection* in the Munich Pinakothek (20, Plate 35), and place it side by side with the related composition in the right shutter of the Granada altarpiece. Bouts clings stubbornly and loyally to the traditional type of composition. Sharp scrutiny of any part of the Granada altarpiece allows one to discern the Louvain master's personal observation of nature, independent of Rogier. Take, for example, the fluttering white cloth in the central panel. Caught and filled by the breeze, intricately twisted, it floats in the air, its contours and recessed folds signifying its extension in space from front to back. It leaps from the depths, this length of linen, turning and rolling in space.

The interrelations between Rogier and Bouts are close. So evident are they that the art historian is inevitably left with the conclusion that a teacher-and-pupil

relationship must have existed. Always set for such assumptions, the historian finds plenty of suggestive evidence in this case. Any theory, however, that Bouts was an apprentice or assistant in the Brussels workshop of Rogier around 1430 or 1440 ill accords with the view that Dieric worked for a while in Haarlem. One would have to speculate that Dieric served a youthful apprenticeship in Brussels, then returning to his hometown and ultimately moving to Louvain. Personally, I do not think a pupil-and-teacher relation between Bouts and Rogier is the only possible explanation that squares with the evidence. One may equally well imagine that Dieric, coming to Louvain from Holland, could not but adopt the style that prevailed in his new home, that he fell under Rogier's spell without ever having been a pupil or studio associate in the proper sense.

The *Lamentation*, in the Louvre (4, Plate 8), with the Saviour's body, stiffened in *rigor mortis*, lying athwart the Virgin's lap, is evidently a modification of a Rogierian motive. Once again, it shows the blunting of dramatic effect, the expansion of space, the resonant landscape we have come to recognize as Dieric's personal attributes. St. John, a figure of boyish innocence, is shown exactly as in the altarpiece of the Sacrament. Mary Magdalene is off to one side, a bit to the rear, breaking up the otherwise relieflike figure combination. The bony hands and the lively contour of the Saviour's body hint at a comparatively early date of origin.

The *Entombment* in the National Gallery, London, offers chronological difficulties (3, Plate 7). The unusual technique, water colour on canvas, makes careful comparison with other pictures difficult. It seems clear that this relieflike composition must have been done at an early date, earlier than the altarpiece of the Sacrament. One can scarcely fail to note the conspicuously close relationship with the Granada triptych. The weeping woman drying her eyes with her kerchief in the *Crucifixion* shutter there appears here again in a similar pose, as do all of the faces of sorrowing females. Yet the forms have become quieter, smoother, simpler. The crumpled fussiness of the early works is a thing of the past.

If we date the four panels in the Prado—entirely conjecturally—from the year 1445, the Granada altarpiece may have been done in 1450, the *Entombment* about 1455, the *Lamentation* in the Louvre about 1460.

All other works properly regarded as Dieric's are readily categorized as belonging to his mature period, on the basis of their obvious kinship, either with the altarpiece of the Sacrament, or with the *Pearl of Brabant*.

The panel from the Leuchtenberg gallery, now in the possession of Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria (22, Plate 37), must be considered not far removed in time from the altarpiece of the Sacrament. When it comes to figures in motion, Bouts's inventiveness flags and he becomes stubbornly conservative. Jesus strolling by the river places his feet in exactly the same way as Jesus rising from the tomb. The locale, on the other hand, is meaningfully and joyfully developed. The picture is divided in two by the narrow rivulet winding down from the hills and shown in rather steep perspective. Jesus, on the one bank, is lost in thought, solemn, aloof from the devotion shown him from the other bank. The Baptist points to the apparition, remote despite its nearness, while the donor falls to his knees in worship. The harmony of this vision flows as much from the purity and mildness on the faces, the brittle and spare movements, as from the blooming and burgeoning life of the

countryside. Only in the shutters of the Munich triptych do the waves of pious jubilation over earth's colourful and splendid dress beat still higher.

The works we regard as belonging to the late period differ, one from the other. The empty *Justice* panels seem scarcely compatible with the delicate Munich triptych. But here, as so often, we must not forget the powerful influence format and scale exert on style. Whether he is compelled to work punctiliously with pointed fingers on a narrowly limited area or whether he is spurred by wide areas in which eye, hand and feeling can expand—this tends to shape the painter's state of mind. Every painter has a certain formal stock-in-trade. This knowledge, which tends to remain constant, may be adequate, more than enough, or inadequate, according to the given format and scale. Paintings the master did at the same time may show a wealth of fussy detail on the one hand, and large vacant areas on the other. Every painter has a certain appropriate and convenient scale of his own, like a vessel appropriately shaped to hold the precise volume of his experience and observation.

Inspired by the desire to discern the road Dieric travelled, we trim our eyes to his landscapes where, more than anywhere else, we may expect to find a record of his organic growth, where the master's endowment had its creative and autonomous fling. What we must examine is not merely the landscape motives, the disposition of landscape elements, but even more the relation of landscape to figures and the rôle forms and colours of landscape pre-empt in the total composition. In the Granada triptych, the backgrounds are comparatively dry, objective geographical reports, featuring bright and expansive vistas. More and more, the lyrical and musical harmony of the countryside is enhanced, the fragrant shimmering distances become discernible, while the dark, massive, colourful ground is gathered up to form an element in the narrative of equal importance with the figures.

Dieric's Portraits and Madonnas at Half-Length

We have more than one reason for bracketing the portraits on the one hand, in our searching examination, with the Madonnas in half-length on the other. Often enough Madonnas and portraits were joined into diptychs or triptychs. Even when there was no such connection, however, the creative task in the two genres is similar, for the human figure, seen to the breast or waist, sets its own proportion for the picture area, in either case consigning painter and beholder to the same point of view. Portrait and half-length Madonna, worshipper and object of his worship, both challenge the master to immerse himself in the mind and spirit of his subject. True enough, in the former case it is a matter of observing the unique individual, while in the latter an ideal type is to be created. But in the end result, this is not so deep a chasm as might be expected. Dieric Bouts, always striving for realism and sticking to a relatively large scale, invests the ideal type with certain individual traits, while his portraits, on the other hand, approach the typical. One reason is that his wonted gamut of forms exerts a levelling effect. Then too, his whole temper and mentality pervade all his faces as a common element.

Dieric inserted portrait figures into his compositions, whether to please his patrons who were fond of appearing as actors in the sacred spectacles, or because he felt an alternation of the typical with the individual to be an enrichment and sought to enhance the overall illusion by means of portrait heads. How empty those *Justice* panels would be without their portraits! In his later years, particularly when he worked in a large scale, types left him discontented and he endeavoured to blend this traditional inventory with portrait elements from life. These two approaches sometimes come so closely together that the question whether or not we are dealing with a portrait is hard to answer. In truth, this observation is not limited to Dieric Bouts but applies, in one way or another, to all the Netherlandish masters of the 15th century. The portrait, admitting, nay demanding observation of unique and peculiar form, was to the Netherlandish masters a source of strength, a means of enrichment, a training school, indeed a pillar of support without which none would have ventured with impunity upon paintings of large dimensions. In the 16th century, we find some painters, of no consequence in other respects, who still remain good portraitists; and we sense the deep, secret propensity for creating likenesses that has marked the Netherlanders at all times. The first emergence of this propensity, which led to the admixture of portrait heads to compositions about 1470 is, however, a specifically Dutch trait. What we see germinally unfolding in these creations is the group portrait, the *doelenstuk* that became a Dutch speciality. By disposition, Bouts was receptive to the uniqueness of the individual and thus equipped for the portraitist's task. True, we have no more than two or three portraits on single panels from his brush; but the donor portraits in his devotional pictures supplement our comprehension, and his other compositions, notably the *Justice* panels, are full of portraitlike heads. His predilection for the portrait emerges clearly enough, even though circumstances did not put the Louvain town painter

in touch with royal personages and wealthy burghers as much as they did Jan van Eyck, Rogier van der Weyden and Hans Memlinc.

The picture in the National Gallery, London, dated 1462 (12, Plate 20), was formerly regarded as a self-portrait by Memlinc and legends clustered about it; but connoisseurs soon recognized Dieric's hand; and indeed, this portrait may serve almost as a model in illustrating the master's qualities in respect of draughtsmanship, coloration and conception. The setting is a clearly visualized room with strong contrasts of light and dark that are, nevertheless, anything but harsh. The view out the window gives on the countryside. Presumably this is the earliest example of a compositional scheme which Memlinc, particularly, cultivated. The painter seems to have been aware of the implications of this bold step, of the potential of this innovation, for he resorted to the exceptional device of prominently featuring the year, as though to safeguard his priority and the honour that might flow from it. The sitter is not shown in isolation—he is a dweller on this earth, depicted with a corner of his environment, creating a sense of realism and interrelation that enriches the visual effect. The colour scheme is warm and harmonious, the flesh tints showing brownish nuances, the robe a reddish violet. The surface, rather than being firmly enamelled, shimmers and stirs. There are quite a number of elements in the background, but none of them detracts from the head: from left to right, there is, first, the view from the window, bright, with green shrubbery and blue distances; next come the lighter and darker vertical bands of the wall and window shutter; and lastly the wall, enlivened by the graven date and deep shadows. The bust-length figure, air all about it, stands freely in space, with the lighting carried out consistently. The lighted, foreshortened side of the face is clearly and lucidly set off against the ground, which is dark at this point, while the other side, shaded, and the tall cap and the hair are dark against a light ground. The fleshy hands are at rest, organs of touch rather than for grasping. The face is spiritualized, with a hint of Dieric's St. John type, revealing the painter's patient and contemplative soul. The dark, luminous eyes are directed vaguely upwards, almost in prayer.

Unlike Rogier, Bouts here shaded the near side of the face, in the way Jan van Eyck used to light his portrait heads. This face is longingly turned towards the light.

Another *Portrait of a Man* (32, Plate 51), as indisputably by Dieric as the London panel and also never questioned, is the one from the Oppenheim collection that went with the Altman collection to the Metropolitan Museum in New York. It has a neutral, dark blue ground against which head, chest and hands stand out lighter. The foreshortened side of the face, in shadow, is enlivened by a few reflections. The tall purple cap lends a stiff and hard aspect to an already long and narrow face, while the head is held very erect, almost leaning backwards. Interior contours, especially in the brow and between nose and mouth, are shaped with a feeling for the texture of flesh, which here looks healthy and tanned, mature and well-nourished. The straight lines running obliquely downwards from the nose reinforce the almost mathematical emphasis on underlying structure, of which the master is so fond whenever he resorts to a larger scale. The sitter is praying with folded hands, the tips of which project into the picture from below the frame. Presumably, the panel represents one side of a diptych, the other side of which held a Madonna (81). The portrait, which is in a perfect state of preservation, is nevertheless pervaded by

an air of comparative aloofness and reticence. It is among the master's last creations.

A third individual portrait which I attribute to the master was (or still is 191) in the Warneck collection, Paris (10, Plate 19). I first saw it at the Toison d'Or exhibition in Bruges in 1907, where it was *attribué à van Eyck*. The head stands out against a neutral, half-lit ground, light against comparative dark on the near side, dark against comparative light on the far side. The elements that speak conclusively for Bouts are the wealth of interior forms; the chiaroscuro effect; the play of reflections; the upright attitude; the well-shaped ear, lying close to the head and shown in proper foreshortening; the position of the pupil of the eye. The face is elaborated in highly individual fashion, almost in the spirit of Jan van Eyck. I incline to give this portrait a relatively early date, which appears to be supported by the hair style and the shaven temple.

Among the donor portraits, the one in the panel from the Leuchtenberg collection, now owned by Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria, is of aristocratic grace. This panel was probably done about 1468, a little later than the painting, *Jesus at the House of Simon*, which went to the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin with the Thiem collection (16, Plate 24). A Carthusian monk appears in the latter panel as the donor.

Madonnas at half-length in the Boutsian style are not as numerous as those in the Rogierian. A *petite Notre Dame fait de lamain de Dierick* is mentioned in the inventory of Margaret of Austria's art treasures¹. Among the surviving store, I regard four paintings as 'genuine', i.e. as works by the master's own hand. They are the one in the National Gallery, London (from the Salting Bequest; 14, Plate 22); the one in the Carrand collection of the Bargello, Florence (with a neutral dark ground; 9, Plate 17); the one in the Städelches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt (15, Plate 23); and finally, the panel from the Stroganoff collection, recently put on the market in New York (11, Plate 19).

The Madonnas in Frankfurt and New York are related in composition to each other, and both are freely related to a type much in vogue in Rogier's workshop. The child lies athwart his mother's hands. The mother's breast is bare, draped with the kerchief drooping from her head.

These small devotional panels afford the clearest view of the master's ideal of femininity. His emotional approach always comes out in its purest and happiest form in showing simple and idyllic tasks. The Virgin invariably cherishes her child, holds him and mothers him with both hands—hands that are soft and warm.

The immaculately preserved Salting Madonna resembles the male portrait in the same museum in the proportion of the half-length figure to the background; and, like the other, it is marked by a certain richness and natural logic of the total conception, by an intelligent approach to the spatial context. The Virgin is seen to the waist, framed in a realistically depicted wall opening, on the ramplike sill of which the child is seated. The back wall of the chamber is faced with brocade, and a window in the same back wall gives on the countryside. The intangible atmosphere of the room is enhanced by the contrast between indoors and outdoors. The Virgin's hair is drawn tight on top and clings to her head, emphasizing the lines of the skull. At the temples, it becomes more luxuriant and then ripples down in waves. The wide forehead arches upwards at the sides, where it is marked by slight prominences. The parting of the hair is accented, as indeed the axis of the head is also

1. Delaborde, *Ducs de Bourgogne*, p. 29 [9 bis].

marked in the straight line of the nose and the channel from nose to mouth. The eyes are opened in narrow slits, the nostrils are weak, the lips are full, and the line of the cheek curves in a wide sweep—all contributing to the structure of the head and the animated impression it creates by virtue of the interplay of direct and reflected light. Its firm bone structure rests gently in a bed of chiaroscuro.

This blend of firmness and softness emerges even more clearly in the Stroganoff Madonna. Here the Virgin's face shows traces of aging, its tense and grave expression invested with an air of warmth and humanity by dimples and accents of light. The firmly closed and slightly pouting mouth is typical—the lower lip, in full light, is rounded, while the upper lip is thin and in between runs a dark line, pointed downwards in the middle.

Much attention is paid to the lighting, especially in the Frankfurt Madonna—sometimes at the expense of form. In that painting, the child's head is bathed in light. About contemporary with the Salting Madonna, it seems later than the acerb Stroganoff Madonna and the stiffer one in the Bargello—of which, by the way, there is a replica of approximately equal quality in the Davis collection, now in the Metropolitan Museum in New York.

The Madonna in Florence seems to be the earliest of the lot. The Stroganoff panel may have been painted about 1460, the Salting Madonna about 1465, the one in Frankfurt a little later still.

The Madonna in Berlin, with the child playfully tugging at the big toe of one drawn-up foot, as though with a pair of pincers, certainly goes back to Bouts (93, Plate 97). It appears to have been executed with care, but does not quite come up to the level the master reached in the four Madonnas that have been described. There are crude copies of this composition, for example in the Louvre. Possibly even the best specimen known so far, the panel in Berlin, is a workshop replica. In it, the landscape with its network of straight lines, is visible, not through a window frame, but added directly behind the half-length figure, by way of background. The middleground seems to have caused the artist some embarrassment, for there is no organic link between figure and landscape which, further, is somewhat dry and lacking in mood.

Another solution, representing a new compositional approach that is without doubt Dieric's own, is offered by a Madonna in half-length in the Antwerp museum (92, Plate 97). Although it is inadequate in quality, in its conception and formal idiom it displays all the characteristics of our master. A wall of foliage rises here behind the figure in the middleground, outlined in a dark, wavy contour that intersects the Virgin's face.

In each of these pictures, the special character of the child, his expression and posture, are captured with naturalness. His legs are gawky and bent, he sprawls awkwardly, he moves his hands clumsily, spreading or contracting the fingers. Whether grave or merry, his gaze is always vague. Thus, Dieric succeeded in enlisting an abundance of felicitous motives in the iconography of the Madonna.

The Character of Dieric Bouts

30 *Claruit inventor in describendo rure* is what Molanus the chronicler says in praise of Dieric, and he says nothing further. In the 16th century, this painter was regarded as the 'inventor', the pioneer, who first represented the countryside. Yet Bouts painted no landscapes as such. Quantitatively speaking, the countryside is not much more prominent in his altarpieces than in those of other painters of his time. Nevertheless, to praise him as an observer of the countryside represents a proper estimate, a response to his personal creative style, if the concept of the landscape painter is staked out broadly enough and all the appropriate conclusions are drawn from the inclination that determines both a landscape painter's point of view and his choice of subject. As a painter, Bouts subsisted on altarpieces. He had commissions to carry out. No one asked him for landscapes. Yet when he was commissioned to do a *St. Christopher* or an *Adoration*, Dieric would tarry to represent the countryside. The impulse to portray landscape must have been overwhelming.

Man's body and the space within which it moves are perceived in a single act; yet the body may be the primary element; or space may be given precedence in the pictorial conception. Since 15th century painters proceeded from ecclesiastical themes, the sacred figures existed primarily in their imagination, creating their own space only *a posteriori*. Bodies necessarily take up their share of three-dimensional space, fill it, and thus make their own demands on it, since part of it comes into existence only with themselves. They must be able to move in all directions, they need room to live beyond their skin. Thus the artist's mastery over the body in motion necessarily enhances his ability to project the illusion of space and place. Every movement of the limbs deepens this illusion, every bending or bowing, every overlapping or foreshortening.

Painters, of course, may also begin at the opposite end, building up the picture from outdoor or indoor space, creating the illusion of depth quite independently of the figures, which are given their proper three-dimensional volume only as inhabitants of this imaginatively conceived space. If painters following this latter course are called landscape painters, then Dieric Bouts was a landscape painter.

His pleasure in depicting a tree, a hill, a flower carried emotional overtones. He tended to be swept away into a happy, lyrical sense of identification with nature, or into a mood of wistful longing for it. His desire to express the marvellous took refuge in landscape forms, because of his instinctive despair of being able to represent incomprehensible mysteries within the limitations of the human body, familiar and close at hand as it was. Limitless space affords intimations of divinity.

Bouts does more than merely describe the countryside in a kind of geographical report. He not only observes how things grow smaller with their distance from the eye, he is sensitive to the emotional impact these distances create, to the changing moods of the landscape, depending on the alternation of local colour, which in turn depends on place and lighting. Colour elicits musical resonance from the deep space it helps create—the transparent, blue distances, the blooming green near by,

the dark glow of the massive rocks rising between eye and light and standing out against the bright sky. As a landscape painter, Bouts became a colourist, and as a colourist, he became an observer of landscape.

Spatial depth of itself is no more than a vacuum, encompassed by the eye solely on account of the form and colour of the things in it. By deviating from local form and local colour, observed form and colour give evidence of the location of those things, of their relation to the light. There is, in consequence, a certain reciprocity between an enhanced subtlety and sensitivity of the eye and the endeavour to create the illusion of depth.

Dieric's figures appear to be fully rounded. One can reach around them. They cut off and reflect light and they cast shadows. That is how they help engender the space in the first place, not through any flow of action nor the energy of their limbs.

His technique is painstaking. He made sure that his pigments were pure. Thus he was able to realize his every observation in respect of the colours appropriate to place, lighting and material. The breadth and abundance of his pictures rest on the variety, luminosity and harmony of his *coloris*. Like a jeweller composing with precious stones, Bouts assembles saturated hues in which the eye immerses itself with pleasure. These rubies and emeralds do not sparkle and flash with their polished facets but rather glow from gently and purely shaped *cabochon* surfaces. Positive local colour competes with chiaroscuro.

Dieric's vigorous shadows, subserving realistic modelling, are relieved by reflected lights. In the lighter fabrics, especially, a streaky shaded hollow of intermediate darkness is followed by a band of light and then a deep, direct shadow. Reflections contribute a good deal to the enhancement of the illusion of depth.

Bouts chooses his local colours on the warm side. His many variations of flesh tints have a brownish tinge. His reds are mostly scarlet or madder lake.

His objects do not merely carry a coat of paint, they consist through and through of coloured material, made thus and so—of stone, flesh, silk, wool, metal, glass, hair; and these substances are differentiated according to the way in which they behave under the action of light. The brushwork varies with the character of the material being depicted, and also with the size and scale of the painting. The paint layer usually has a strong, enamel-like body, but it is sometimes applied more like a wash, to capture the tone and spectrum of rough and worn materials, bathed in light in the most diverse fashion.

His narrow-shouldered, large-headed figures are completely at ease when at rest, rather awkward and shambling when in motion. Nevertheless, by virtue of the master's sensitive observation of light and colour, and quite apart from his knowledge of linear perspective, they are always firmly placed in space, one further to the fore, another further to the back, with air between them on all sides.

The men stride with affected stiffness, dark, with carefully turned curls, in snugly fitting clothes, in brocade, taciturn and passive, or authoritatively solemn, in effect like scions of an alien race. A factor in their expression is the upper eyelid, lowered so as to overlap a goodly portion of the pupil, which invests their gaze with an air of unworldly longing. Willpower and participation in the outside world are reduced in the degree that each is preoccupied with himself, his thoughts and sensations. On every hand we sense signs of a desire to tell stories, to render visible

thoughts and emotions, through the medium of facial expression, through gestures of the hand. But to that end, a certain sluggishness must first be overcome. These men and women incline their heads, open their mouths, raise their hands; but the monotonous emotional pitch to which all the figures are tuned blurs their utterances, meant to serve the narrative, even makes them appear ambiguous, unless the specific intent goes hand in hand with the general mood. The groups which Rogier allowed to rigidify at the climactic moment, Bouts dissolves in a flow of elegiac lyricism. His spirit, based on the purest faith, has become a steady habit, a somewhat oppressive, dull, fatigued sense of awe of sanctity. There is careful observance of order, measure and rank, the walled-in purlieu of town and abbey are never transgressed. Law and duty are honoured, in loyal communion, by suffering mankind, obeying their destiny.

Faces, whether smooth or wrinkled, are thoroughly modelled, with deep-seated, dark eyes, expressive lips, rich heads of hair, the curly or fuzzy structure of which is carefully detailed. The rather short hands are fleshy and dimpled, carefully elaborated by means of shadow lines and reflections. The furrows in wrinkled faces travel an approximately straight course, resulting in a kind of crystalline dissection. The organism seems built up from surfaces that are differently oriented in space and that come together in different planes.

Bouts is fond of variety in form, which his acute observation traces down, yet he never loses sight of the spatial context nor of the unity and consistency of his lighting.

Unless they are latent, serving as the division between two areas of colour, his interior lines follow a shaded or lighted contour. It is never the kind of draughtsman's demarcation that defeats illusion. Interior forms arch forward, while their farther limits are concealed in the depths.

His action as displayed across the picture surface has little impetus. Dramatic interrelations among the figures lack vigour. Profiles are dull and weak in expression. All the richer in effect are the interior forms of the figures that face or half-face the beholder. The enrichment of these interior forms is achieved by the master's encompassing rises and falls of substances in the direction of his eye, in their gradual alternation of light and dark.

Dieric's panels gratify the eye in their every part. It is not as though groups of figures filled the picture area evenly. On the contrary, there is no lack of gaps in the figure composition, of blockages and empty places. Yet the continual flow of colour and tonal values is never interrupted, speaks from every point. The entirety of the picture, with its various depths, draws our eyes inside, creating a particular density of effect from glowing colour nuances, on which we feast our eyes in the happiest fashion.

Dieric himself enters into the depths of his spaces, lovingly pursues the gradations of colour and tone, hunts down and respectfully observes life in the tiniest compass, endeavours, through the medium of painting, to reproduce faithfully such things as wetness, the blue haze of the horizon, things that are greasy or juicy or bursting with life and others that glow from within; and all these things bespeak a contemplative mind rather than a man of action. Bouts is more the observer than the creator—in the grouping of his figures he is modest, bold and venturesome only in the way he shapes his space and his chiaroscuro. He softened the standard sacred

compositions he took over, by pervading them with a wistful and even phlegmatic spirit, clothing them in *fine*, warm colours and the gentle air. Creatively, Bouts remains true to tradition, but as an observer he strikes out on his own. In a negative sense, this independent visual approach can be explained by the fact that the pressure of pictorial tradition that prevailed in the South was less effective in the North. Bouts brought his freedom of vision with him from Holland, from a country where there was little sculpture in stone, little tapestry weaving.

Bouts took over pictorial ideas from Rogier van der Weyden; but when we bear in mind the profound contrast between Jan van Eyck and Rogier, Bouts stands on the side of Jan van Eyck. There is a link between these two, across the gulf of generation and temperament, which we can perhaps best understand in the light of their common racial origin.

Bouts took an equal interest in every aspect of the visible world, regardless of rank or intellectual importance. Thus he paved the way for Dutch painting in the 17th century, for landscape, portrait and still life.

Compared with Jan van Eyck and the Master of Flémalle, Bouts is an heir who administers his heritage with prudence. Heroic revelling in audacious sallies has given way to solid middle-class work within narrow confines, the sparks and flashes of innovation to a quiet glow.

Albert van Ouwater

34

If Dieric Bouts, who was born in Haarlem but practised his art in Louvain, can be regarded as a Dutch painter only with reservations, Albert van Ouwater, who worked in Haarlem and apparently nowhere else, represents the Dutch strain outright—to the degree that we are entitled to speak of a Dutch spirit in 15th century panel painting. Van Mander¹ expresses surprise that panel painting should have flourished in Haarlem at an early date, to wit, in the time of Jan van Eyck. His informant was an 'honourable' man, the painter Albert Simonsz, whose memory reached far back. In the year 1604, Simonsz assured van Mander he had been Jan Mostart's pupil 60 years before, i.e. in 1544, when Mostart was about 70; and this master, born about 1474, had known neither Albert van Ouwater nor Geertgen tot Sint Jans. Yet Geertgen, as van Mander twice remarks, was Albert's pupil. He died young, at the age of about 28. Judging from the style of his paintings and the type of dress in them, Geertgen must have been still living about 1490. If the report on his brief life is true, he could have been Albert's pupil only around 1475, which would make van Ouwater about the same age as Bouts—possibly younger, but certainly no older. The sole documented date in respect of van Ouwater is 1467, when a grave was opened to receive his daughter in the church of St. Bavo in Haarlem².

Van Mander describes an altarpiece in St. Bavo's in Haarlem, the so-called 'Roman' altarpiece, as a work of Albert, but apparently he did not actually see it. In the middle were Sts. Peter and Paul. Below, at the foot of the altarpiece, was a pretty landscape with pilgrims, some of whom were wandering, while others were resting, eating and drinking. A proper art historian, van Mander notes that the earliest and best kind of landscape painting began in Haarlem a long time ago.

There was in Haarlem another painting by van Ouwater of which van Mander saw a copy, an underpainting. From it, he describes the painting that was carried off to Spain, with such accuracy that the panel, the *Raising of Lazarus*, which Wilhelm von Bode discovered in Genoa and which was acquired for the Kaiser Friedrich Museum³, could be identified as the Haarlem painting without the slightest doubt.

Our picture of Albert van Ouwater is based entirely on this *Raising of Lazarus* (34, Plate 52). Frantic efforts to associate other works with it by stylistic criteria have by and large failed. But for van Mander's report, the Berlin panel, which is in a fairly good state of preservation, would have been catalogued as the work of an unknown painter working somewhere in Dieric's shadow. Since van Ouwater was a fellow countryman and contemporary of Dieric, the style of the painting confirms van Mander's report. To define the relation between these two men from Haarlem more precisely remains a difficult task. Van Ouwater's career may have been a long one, yet we know only one point in it, through a single picture, without being able to say just where it lay, at the beginning, the middle or the end.

Quite apart from the painting that has been preserved, we must not treat too

1. German edition, p. 64.

2. Van der Willigen, *Les Artistes de Haarlem*, p. 49.

3. *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, Vol. 35, 1890, p. 35 ff.

seriously van Mander's remark that Albert's work reached back to the time of Jan van Eyck. Van Ouwater was not exactly famous around 1600. Van Mander seems never to have heard the name until the aged Haarlem painter, full of local pride, set down the whole family history.

Assuming that Dieric Bouts left Haarlem about 1440, the stylistic resemblance between him and the other master, who was still living in Haarlem by 1470, might be explained in three ways: Bouts may have been either van Ouwater's pupil, or his teacher, or the two, as contemporaries, drank at the same well.

A choice among these possibilities can be made only in the light of a comparison of van Ouwater's single painting with the works of Dieric.

On a number of points, the agreement between van Ouwater's painting on the one hand and Dieric's works on the other is quite marked. Figure types and dress, especially a certain predilection for ostensibly Oriental head coverings, speak for a relationship between the two masters, if not for their actually having worked together in the same studio. I am inclined to believe Bouts was the giver rather than the receiver, mainly because he manages the common heritage with greater freedom and success than van Ouwater, over whose panel hovers a certain air of cold anxiety. One senses, moreover, that here the painter was working under a great strain, endeavouring to do his very best. The figures of Jesus, St. Peter and St. John are readily compared with the same personages in a painting by Dieric, *Jesus at the House of Simon*, which is also in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum. All the features in van Ouwater's heads are small, if not petty, especially the shallow and piercing eyes. The expressions are indifferent. The stubby hands are well-fashioned, the noses of the Jews are wide. The 'pretty' faces—of the women and of St. John—are distinguished by short noses. The nude figure of the raised Lazarus, seated on his tomb, shows painstaking study from life, ostentatiously displayed. The chapel area is constructed with assurance in perspective, the brightly lighted aisle being effectively set off from the main chamber. The figures are of proper size in proportion to the building. Indeed, with a rather low horizon line, the scene makes a more natural impression than in some of Dieric's designs. Yet van Ouwater does not quite manage to strike Dieric's note of sheltered homeliness in the interior, nor his consistent scheme of lighting. The figures stand side by side or arrayed in depth in multicoloured emptiness—the colours being on the cold side and anything but deeply luminous, and the flesh tints rather dry and yellowish, like leather. Overall, the colour scheme is light, with a dim green, reds of several shades, little blue and relatively much yellow. The drapery falls much as it does in Dieric's pictures, but where the fabric is abundantly heaped, the lines take on an even, straight and pedantic pattern of crinkling; and just as the faces lack Dieric's noble melancholy, so the drapery lacks his sense of solemn dignity.

Van Mander praises the man from Haarlem as a landscape painter. But oddly enough, as though to thwart the curious connoisseur, the master places the tomb inside a church, thus cheating us of an opportunity to learn about his landscape style. In the house of Cardinal Grimani at Venice, many small landscapes on wood were at one time shown, under the name of Albert of Holland⁴:

Two drawings, I think, transmit to us an idea of two compositions by van Ouwater. One of them, in the Dresden Kupferstichkabinett⁵, represents the mourners

4. The Anonimo Morelliano, English edition, p. 118.

5. This black-and-white pen-and-ink drawing (35.5 × 27) is reproduced as Pl. 4 in Vol. 1 of Woermann's catalogue of the Dresden drawings.

and soldiers at the foot of the Cross (Plate 53). The draughtsman, working carefully and drily from a painting or another drawing in the second half of the 15th century, omitted the main figure in the middle, the crucified Christ. On the left is a group composed of St. John and three women, on the right three soldiers. In compositional style, figure types and drapery, this drawing coincides completely with the Berlin painting. This applies also to a drawing in the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett (28 × 40.6; Plate 53), apparently done by the same copyist as the sheet in Dresden. It too is a *Raising of Lazarus*, but a comparison with the Berlin panel shows none of the signs of agreement that would bespeak a copy, but rather records another pictorial approach in the same spirit. Confirming some elements with which we are already familiar, it merely corroborates rather than enriches our knowledge. The figures are in two groups, as in the *Crucifixion* drawing. In the middle foreground, between the two groups, is Lazarus rising from his tomb. Jesus is not very prominent in the one group, while St. Peter stands separate from both. Even more excitedly and demanding than in the Berlin painting, he points out the miracle to the spectators, here actually seizing one man by the arm. One of the figures is deliberately shown with his back turned altogether. Through an open doorway in the back, we look out upon a bright road with genrelike figures.

The Metropolitan Museum in New York not long ago acquired a fragment, the head of a donor, which is touched at the back by the hand of a saint⁶. From the colour, style and expression, I am inclined to view it as the work of van Ouwater. The ear is shaped exactly as is the ear of St. Peter in the Berlin painting. The gaze is fixed and piercing, the wrinkles in the dry skin are tense, the expression is empty and without animation.

Another recent acquisition by the Metropolitan Museum is a Madonna in half-length, there labelled as van Ouwater. The whole arrangement is reminiscent of Dieric Bouts—the Madonna type, the vigorous shading of the skin, the metallic reflections. In the Salting Madonna, moreover, Dieric chose the same overall scheme—a wall covered in brocade, a landscape seen through an open window. Yet the New York panel, executed rather crudely in places, is certainly not an original work of Bouts, any more than it is of van Ouwater. The hands, the child's ear, the hair are unfamiliar. The luxuriant, rather unkempt hair, seems almost electric. Its texture is emphasized, individual, wiry hairs flashing and crossing against a dark ground. Reflecting a distinctly personal touch of its own, this remarkable picture is the work of an unknown follower of Dieric Bouts.

Also erroneously associated with van Ouwater is a *Gathering of Manna* in the museum at Douai (37, Plate 55). This curious picture too stands alone. It was painted around 1460, probably in Holland, and bespeaks a temperament utterly different from van Ouwater's, slightly reminiscent of Jerome Bosch.

Stylistic analysis fails to yield satisfactory findings in the case of Albert van Ouwater. The expectations aroused by van Mander's words are not fulfilled. What is left is an impression of a petty spirit, a narrow mind, endeavouring to deal with matters sublime and profound. Looking out for the spring from which this master drank, we find it to be the art of Dieric Bouts, unless our limited knowledge deceives us.

All attempts to gain a picture of Dutch art by means other than studying the van

6. Cf. Weale, in his large van Eyck book, p. 171. I mentioned this work in Vol. 1, p. 93 (Pl. 97c).

Ouwater panel have been hitherto rather fruitless. There are a few panel paintings that can be shown to have been painted in Holland, or of which this is presumed; but, placed on the rack by scholarly inquisitors, they give extorted testimony of small value.

The Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam owns a triptych with Christ Crucified, the Virgin and St. John, and *St. Christopher* and the *Mass of Pope Gregory* on the shutters⁷ (38, Plate 56).

The landscape in the background features the tower of Utrecht Cathedral. It seems probable—but is not certain—that this altarpiece was painted in Utrecht, the town that was the centre of Dutch ecclesiastical life and should, therefore, also be expected to have been a major art centre; but we know nothing about 15th century painting in Utrecht; and precisely on account of our ignorance, this single work has been the target of a barrage of inquiries. It was painted about 1460, and it shows figures in agitated motion, but it refuses to be linked up with anyone, has nothing in common with either Jan van Eyck or Dieric Bouts. To be blunt about it, if the tower shown were that of a church in Münster or Lübeck, we might just as well engage in altogether different art-historical speculations—and to as little purpose.

The situation is similar in respect of a panel from Roermond, likewise now in the Rijksmuseum⁸, showing 18 small-scale scenes of the Passion in three rows, one above the other (39, Plate 57). Related in style to this panel is a triptych in the Rijksmuseum—formerly in the possession of Monsignor G. W. van Heukelem, it was auctioned by Muller in Amsterdam in 1912 (40, Plate 58). Pictures such as this give us some idea of the kind of crude, backward, provincial painting output that may well have reached back to the time of Albert van Ouwater.

Of much higher rank is a votive panel in the Utrecht museum (41, Plate 58), executed, according to the inscription, in memory of a certain Raes van Haemstede, who died in 1426. Judging from the style, it can scarcely have been done before 1460, and it exhibits a degree of refinement unlikely to have been found in an earlier generation.

7. Reproduced in Winkler, *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, Vol. 44, 1923, p. 140.

8. Reproduced in Winkler, *loc. cit.*, p. 137.

Albert Bouts and Other Followers of Dieric

38

The Louvain master's significance lies less in creative invention than in execution, in the observation of nature, less in compositions others could use than in an inimitable sense of colour poured out over wide areas. When Dieric's creations were repeated, copied, carried abroad, they failed to weave the spell that issued from Rogier's.

In essence, his followers were limited to Louvain, and they administered his heritage along conservative lines. Unable to equal his highest and most profound qualities, the elegiac harmony of his painting, its subtlety, his feeling for light and air, they were left with a commonplace devotional style that churned out indifferent icons by the score.

Dieric's two sons were demonstrably active as painters in Louvain and must be considered his followers. As their father's heirs, they had drawings and cartoons at their disposal to serve them as models and aids in satisfying the demand for devotional pictures.

According to the dates established by van Even¹, the eldest son, who was named Dieric like his father, came of age on 15th January 1473. Between 30th January and 10th February 1476, he married Margaret van Berlaer. Born about 1450, he presumably passed his apprenticeship in his father's workshop, at the time when Dieric the Elder, at the height of his powers, was doing the altarpiece of the Sacrament. In the Louvain archives, he is repeatedly described as *pictor imaginum*. Dieric the Younger died in Louvain between 28th December 1490 and 2nd May 1491. Of his five children, at least one son, Jan, also became a painter.

Albert Bouts, second son of the great master, was still under age by 1476 and must thus have been at least five years younger than his brother Dieric. Prior to 1480, he married Maria Cocx in Louvain, and, after the death of his first wife, Elisabeth de Nausnydere. He died in March 1548, after a long and active life and in affluent circumstances. The Louvain historian Molanus speaks of an altarpiece by this master, an *Assumption of the Virgin*, in the small choir of the chapel of the Virgin (to which he presented it as a gift). In the course of three years, Albert Bouts had been unable to finish the work. For the rest, he was described as painting *multa devote* for the Augustinians and elsewhere.

Van Even and Hulin² have identified a triptych in the Brussels museum as the work mentioned by Molanus.

Hulin has virtually clinched this identification by proving that the painter himself with his second wife is represented as the donor on the right shutter of the Brussels triptych (57, Plates 69-71). An angel hovering above the donors carries a coat of arms with the insignia of the painters' guild and two crossed arrows with a capital A. The older donor on the left shutter, presumably a close relative of Albert's, has not been identified. It might be his father-in-law. Hulin conjectures it is Henri vander Bruggen, an uncle on his mother's side and Albert's guardian. Beside him stands a deacon with a papal tiara in his hands. In the background—a

1. *Thierry Bouts...*, 1864, p. 22.

2. Introduction to the *Catalogue Critique* of the Bruges exhibition of 1902, p. xviii ff.

landscape—St. Thomas is shown receiving the girdle from the angel. Perhaps this donor was named Thomas. Albert himself looks to be fortyish. The altarpiece, accordingly, would have been done about 1490.

As Hulin was the first to note, we have another picture with Albert's signature, an *Annunciation* in the Munich Pinakothek (44, Plate 60). A window in the back wall holds a disc with an escutcheon showing precisely the same insignia as the Brussels altarpiece. The window also shows the arms of the town of Louvain and a special mark, which Hulin, not altogether convincingly, interprets as signifying the painter's name. The first armorial bearings are entirely sufficient to serve as the painter's signature. A reversed replica of the *Annunciation*, in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin (44b, Plate 60), contains heraldic insignia in the glass which again point to Louvain, the painters' guild and Albert's name. Another repetition was formerly in the Schweitzer collection in Berlin (44a, Plate 60).

The three signed panels form a firm point of departure. The master's manner and skill are made plain to us, as is his whole approach. This single composition, the *Annunciation*, can be studied in three specimens, replicas of approximately equal merit, agreeing with one another in detail. We thus catch a glimpse of a soullessly copying mass production studio. Here, as in many other similar cases, we are deprived of the opportunity to distinguish the master's hand from the ministrations of assistants. If Albert Bouts did not eschew copying, indeed, grew accustomed to it, he was also prepared to entrust the work to assistants, without having to fear a noticeable decline in quality. Without particular ambition or spirit, he ran a productive and profitable art factory for a matter of decades, thoroughly exploiting the stock-in-trade his father had left him, for whole compositions, for the postures of his figures, for his facial types. Indeed, certain lost works of the father have come down to us in reflected form only through the œuvre of the son.

The Brussels triptych, with its restless throng head by head and a compositional scheme apparently not handed down from the father, is characteristic of Albert Bouts. The short and somewhat plump figures are topped by heavy heads with grave and sullen faces. The hair is dishevelled, its curls frizzy, with strands falling into the face and lending the bony apostles the aspect of pilgrims. Reminiscent of Dieric's transfigured types, Albert's faces and gestures bespeak narrow and obsessive minds. The men seem grown grey in church service, tired and indolent, their souls blunted. There is a hint of the desire for dramatic animation, but it never takes hold of these unwieldy bodies, just as the desire for variety of form never gets beyond the monotonous sequence of dark patches. The hands are stubby, with thick fingers. The coloration is muddy and opaque—the artist seems to lack the gumption to resort to vivid local colour. The brushwork is thick and treacly. There are enough signs of 'progress,' beyond the uncompromising verticality of earlier generations, in the wavy, sweeping and bellying lines of the dress fabrics that look as though they were lined; but there is also an incapacity to inspire the compositions with the new spirit, in whole or part. Albert's landscapes, while in general following the paternal model, lack Dieric's rounded tonal values and are studded with shrubs, trees and buildings. The texture of wool is often simulated by close dotting.

It is not hard to envisage how the career of the plain master developed, from 1475 until deep into the 16th century. The farther his style departed from Dieric's,

the farther in the past must Dieric's death have lain. The last pictures are those in which precision and economy of form have softened into a doughy expansiveness.

A speciality of this workshop was the production of modest, small, severely ecclesiastical devotional panels (61, 62, 63, Plates 74-78). Bust-length images of the Saviour crowned with thorns and of the sorrowing Virgin, in diptych form, were in particular demand. Other types were no less popular, such as Jesus as the Man of Sorrows, in tondo form. The number of replicas that have survived indicates that their production was on a large scale. There is an archaic austerity to these pictures, which show their subjects in rigid frontal view. Blood and tears are shown with primitive realism. All these expressions of great pain and deep sorrow satisfied a common and wide-spread sentimental need. Presumably these products of orthodox church art were articles of export, going to Germany, the Nordic countries and Spain.

Living on his heritage, the master sought to avoid outright copying by shifting and rearranging compositional units. This is plainly seen, for example, when his *Last Supper* in the Brussels museum (49, Plate 64) is compared with the centrepanel of the altarpiece of the Sacrament.

Rogier's after-effect continued. A *Lamentation*, in the municipal museum at Frankfurt (54, Plate 67), apparently by Albert Bouts, is no more than a variant on the prevailing composition in Rogier's workshop. A Madonna in half-length, on the market in New York, likewise goes back to Rogier, as Hulin has shown³. Yet the achievements of the new age do not leave the master untouched, at least outwardly. A *Nativity* in Antwerp (46, Plate 62), among his best works, shows hints of Hugo van der Goes in the postures of the figures. On another occasion, in a *Christ Carrying the Cross* (50, Plate 64), he surprises us with an awkward imitation of Jerome Bosch, in whose style the malicious face of the gloating thief is done. Among the master's relatively autonomous works, full of figures, are a narrow panel with a *Crucifixion* (53, Plate 66), which went to Paris years ago, from private hands in Cologne, and a *Transfiguration* in Cambridge (48, Plate 63).

Albert Bouts was fond of giving his altarpieces a rounded top or terminating them in curved lines. The latter form represented a fashion that came in about 1500. He also made abundant use of soaring angels to fill up space.

One panel stands out in the work of this master, on account of its special qualities. Formerly in the Felix collection, it has now gone to the collection of the Comtesse de Béarn in Paris (45, Plate 61). The basic composition, known elsewhere only in mediocre copies, presumably goes back to Dieric; and in no other painting did Albert manage to capture so much of Dieric's tranquillity. If I am right in ascribing it to the son, it must be one of his earlier works and, so far as I can see, his happiest. The Virgin, visible to the knees, stands with lowered eyes and folded hands pressed closely to her body, visible above the waist, within a columned hall, before a brocade hanging. Kneeling at the left and showing in half-length, is Joseph, hands joined together, turned towards the Virgin in veneration. Behind him and through the columns, the view gives on the countryside. The uncommonly conscientious elaboration of this painting is in keeping with the strict standards maintained in Dieric's studio. A number of characteristics speak strongly for Albert Bouts, especially the clumsy round outlines of the hands with their fingertips slightly bent up,

3. *Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 45, p. 56. Attributed by Hulin to Dieric, the work is in my opinion typical of Albert. I mentioned it in Vol. II, No. 107h (Pl. 120).

the hatched shrubbery in the middleground of the landscape and the many single trees in the distance.

The devotional panels painted between 1470 and 1520 in the university town of Louvain have a dim air of gravity. The gentle and gracious figure of the Madonna was in less demand than the sad countenance of the Man of Sorrows.

There is another painter, whom I call the Master of the Tiburtine Sibyl, from a picture in the Staedelsches Kunstinstitut in Frankfurt (74, Plate 84), and whose relationship to Dieric Bouts is that of a close kinsman and follower. The four devotional panels I have assembled as his œuvre put him in the light of a competent master, clinging to tradition and working between 1480 and 1495, whether in Louvain or elsewhere, after training in the Louvain workshop. In his spatial configurations, compositional style, figure types and landscape details, he does not go beyond Dieric's line. He has certain personal characteristics, notably a trend towards the grotesque and foppish—braided beards, earrings in his men. Several of his figures stand with abdomen pushed out and the upper part of the trunk bent backwards. The attire is excessively modish. The attendant women are scrawny-necked and short in the chin, and mincing. Expression never goes beyond a doltish amazement. The painter is clearly fond of animals. His landscapes and courtyards are populated with peacocks, monkeys, marmosets. A greyhound with its head turned occurs twice. Wherever there is water, there are swans. Dieric's heavenward-cast eyes are grossly exaggerated.

A certain kind of background seems to have become popular among the Bouts followers generally—a gardenlike castle courtyard populated with animals enclosed by tall buildings, with a view across a wall into a hilly countryside. The Master of the Sibyl was fond of this arrangement. Even his *Raising of Lazarus* is enacted in a palace courtyard (110).

His pictures can be approximately dated from the fashions in dress, especially the form of the shoes. In the Frankfurt panel, they are pointed, but in the other three they are broad and rounded. In composition the Frankfurt picture is indeed the earliest of the lot, not judging merely from the dress—but even it cannot have been done before 1480. A flat, wide expanse of ground, light-coloured and empty and seen in high perspective, forms the background for the dark figures, in harsh silhouette. The Emperor Augustus kneels in the middle, the sibyl standing behind him and pointing out the heavenly apparition of the Virgin.

To the left and right are groups of spectators engaged in discussion, and they include figures of distinctly portraitlike aspect. The steeply vertical contours seem almost cut out. The narrower *Lazarus* in Mexico (76, Plate 86), known to me only in reproduction, is composed in like fashion, although with rather greater freedom than the Frankfurt panel.

The *Betrothal of the Virgin* in the Johnson collection, Philadelphia (75, Plate 85), is set in an open hall, which opens towards the back upon an outdoors scene in broad daylight, with many buildings and some episodes from the Virgin's life.

The landscape in the *Crucifixion* (77, Plate 87), the picture that is in private hands in Paris, testifies to the predicament of a master who was accustomed to walling off the level foreground and emphasizing its perspective. He was at something of a loss how to join his deep countryside with his busy frontal terrain.

Even when we have crystallized the share that properly belongs to the second son and posited the existence of a Master of the Tiburtine Sibyl, there remains an abundance of panels that must be regarded as the work of unidentified pupils and imitators. My Catalogue D enumerates items which, while varying in quality, are held together by the fact that in some way or other a reflection of Dieric's creative personality is discernible in them. A few panels I have reluctantly excluded from the group of originals will be found here. In all likelihood, this Catalogue embraces the oeuvre of the elder son, whose personal style has not yet been successfully disentangled.

In every instance, I have endeavoured to pinpoint the copyist's or follower's relation to Dieric Bouts. In more than one respect, a study of all these pictures promotes our knowledge of the focal master. We are able to trace his impact and our inventory of his compositional ideas is enlarged by themes surviving only in copies; but more than that, we define the limits of his artistry from the outside in, so to speak, we bring his essential character into focus by stripping away the parasitical overgrowth.

When we include Dieric's followers, the group of panels showing the Virgin at full length grows. If we still had everything that once was, we should be able to recognize the great master of Louvain as the originator of this pictorial form. Among the fragmentary stock that has come down to us by mere chance, we catch only tantalizing glimpses of creations now lost. It would have been in keeping with Dieric's character to show the Virgin at rest in a comfortable domestic environment detailed with some care. The locale subsequently created, surely in his spirit, is half garden, half courtyard, populated with animals, idyllically expansive, with opportunities for developing spatial depth in perspective.

It was in Ghent that the altarpiece was created that shows the creative power of Netherlandish panel painting dawning before our eyes. For lack of surviving works, we are unable to trace the output of the Ghent school in an unbroken line. There is a gap from 1432 to 1465. Only then do two masters re-emerge there to give us a visual idea, Joos van Gent and Hugo van der Goes.

Around the middle of the century, the commanding figure in Brussels held absolute sway in all directions. It will fall to us to show that the Brussels painters of the second half of the century subsisted on the heritage from Rogier without augmenting it. We believe we can discern that Antwerp received its new impulses mainly from Brussels. Bruges, where Jan van Eyck had worked and Petrus Christus loyally administered the Eyckian tradition until 1472, thereafter experienced a flowering of art whose importance in historical context has been overestimated. A good deal, comparatively speaking, has been preserved in that town, drawing attention at an early date. Yet the art of Bruges in the second half of the century is neither indigenous nor progressive nor resourceful. The Louvain school, on the other hand, retained the imprint of Dieric's personality deep into the 16th century. Contemplative and elegiac on one side, amiable and festive on the other—these are the forms the art of Rogier took on in Louvain and Bruges. The devotional forms developed in Louvain by the man from Haarlem gained further significance, because the art of Quentin Massys, revelling in sentimentality, had its roots there. Between 1475 and 1500, Louvain was not very productive.

A new element, the achievement of the generation whose youth fell about 1460, came from Ghent. A statement like this can, of course, be made only with reservations, because of the gaps in our knowledge. Whether and in what degree the revolutionary forces discernible chiefly in the creations of Hugo van der Goes stem from the soil of Ghent, sprouted from its school of painting—these are questions hard to answer. When we visit the town and try to read its history from its monuments in stone, we gain the impression that Ghent was a stiffnecked place, defying both dreamy, hedonistic Bruges and learned, submissive, orthodox Louvain. To some slight degree every town probably leaves the imprint of its character on its painting.

Joos van Gent, called Giusto da Guanto by the Italians, was actually named Jodocus rather than Justus, as is commonly believed. In time, he stands beside Hugo van der Goes. Their names are bracketed in Ghent documents. *Giusto da Guanto che fece quella nobil' pittura della comunione al duca d'Urbino*, as Vasari and Guicciardini report, is identical with Joos van Wassenhove who, a Ghent document confirms, moved to Rome before 1475. Joos became a full master in Antwerp in 1460¹, and again, on 6th October 1464, in Ghent², where he worked for several years, his name appearing in documents on more than one occasion. He stood surety on 13th January 1465 and again on 5th May of the same year 1465, each time for Hugo van der Goes. On 19th January 1468 he stood surety together with Hugo. In 1467

1. Liggeren, Vol. 1, p. 13.

2. E. de Busscher, *Recherches sur les Peintres Gantois...*, p. 154.

a payment to him is recorded for painted escutcheons with the papal arms, hung in the church of St. Bavo. After 19th January 1468 his name appears in the Ghent archives no further. That is the year during which he seems to have left his homeland. A document dated 1475 affords us insight into a complex debt entanglement³. It appears that the Ghent family van der Sichel owed the painter Joos van Wassenhove 20 shillings. Hugo van der Goes had advanced the sum to the painter at his emigration. In 1475, he lived in a house owned by the van der Sichel family, and his payment to Joos is taken into account in calculating the rent. In all likelihood this was a matter of a good turn the painter who stayed behind in Ghent did his departing colleague.

Joos was presumably born about 1430 and attained master's status in Ghent a year before Hugo van der Goes, having already worked for four years as a master in Antwerp. On 12th February 1473 his name occurs for the first time in a document in Urbino. From 1468 to 1473 he may have been in Rome or elsewhere in Italy. Federigo da Montefeltre, Duke of Urbino, recruited the Netherlander for the purpose of adorning with paintings in the Netherlandish manner his palace, which he was most anxious to decorate sumptuously. Italian painters like Piero della Francesca, Giovanni Santi and perhaps even Melozzo da Forlì were already at his beck and call. What motivated him to summon a man from the North, nevertheless, was the admiration of Flemish painting that then prevailed at the courts of Italy. It was an admiration tinged with awe of the foreign and mysterious, and it applied equally to the painstaking precision with which oil paint conjured up the illusion of reality, the gleaming enamel-like surface, and the emotional impact these paintings exerted.

The *comunione* mentioned by Vasari survives and stands today in Federigo's palace (99, Plate 101). This altar panel, from which our ideas of the master from Ghent are derived, was not given by the duke but commissioned by the Confraternity Corpus Domini. As protector of the Confraternity, Federigo of course took part in raising the funds for the altarpiece and perhaps even recommended the master in order to test his skill on this occasion. In any event, he was close enough to the whole enterprise for his portrait to be included like that of a donor. The records of payments show that Joos executed the panel in the course of the year 1473. Apparently it was his first major commission in his new country⁴.

Rogier had been in Italy 20 years before; but Joos approached the art of the South in rather different fashion from his predecessor. The new generation to which he belonged was more receptive and adaptable, in a word nimbler, soil well-prepared for the Southern seed. Joos had already been in Italy for several years when he embarked upon the panel at Urbino. He was intent upon fitting in, upon collaborating in tasks in such a way as might please the Italian taste, upon filling a framework pitched rather more broadly than in the North. In Urbino, of all places, he was bound to encounter the air and light of the South, the harmonious proportions of Southern architecture, the grace of Southern ornament.

Rogier imported Netherlandish art, Joos transplanted it. The case of this man from Ghent fascinates and intrigues in the further historical context, as an example, and experiment. We observe with curiosity the result of this encounter, this blend, the fruit of this grafting process.

3. Found in the archives of the church of St. Michael by V. van der Haagen, cf. *Petite Revue de l'Art en Flandre*, Vol. 2, 1901, p. 110.

4. The entire documentation will be found neatly arranged in A. de Ceuleneer, *Juste de Gand*, Brussels, 1911.

Schmarzow has pre-eminently entered into the questions of style that spring from the situation of the uprooted Netherlander^s, and he brought to this clarification of judgment a precise knowledge of Italian art.

In its dimensions and the proportions of its figures, this *Communion of the Apostles* is of Southern aspect. By its very size relationships, the Netherlandish design and brushwork were necessarily denatured. In the Flemish technique, such large areas could be covered only with considerable effort. The gathered luminosity, achieved with enamel-like layers of thin-bodied pigments, did not readily lend itself to monumental effects. Joos had to compromise. Compared with a panel by Dieric's hand, the picture in Urbino is empty, dim, as though leached out. One must, of course, take its state of preservation into account. The surface is badly worn. The harsh contours and the hatching that obtrudes particularly in the flesh parts are in some degree part of the underdrawing, become visible with the rubbing-away of the paint layer, but most of this is due to clumsy retouching.

Red, for the most part a pale lake, appears in smaller patches, notably the head-gear of the three portrait figures on the right, but there is also a stronger vermilion. The blue is hyacinthine, the robe of Jesus light grey shading into blue. The angels are in white shifts, also shaded with blue. The green has darkened and no longer harmonizes with the light colour scheme.

The meal is not pictured in the usual manner; or rather, the Last Supper as such is not represented at all—the solemn row of Apostles assembled at the festive board. The table, sparingly set with eating implements, stands in a church choir and has been transformed into an altar, with no chairs about it. All of the figures are standing or kneeling. The hovering angels deepen the general sense of agitation. The miracle has taken a dramatic and symbolic turn. The Last Supper is celebrated as the First Communion, as the institution of the Sacrament.

Jesus is in the centre, picked out in light colour, taking a great stride, further emphasized by the white-covered table that bisects his figure behind. He proffers a kneeling disciple bread in the form of a wafer. The Apostles lean forward on either side, eager to receive the boon. Their attitudes seem to indicate they have achieved a submissive spirit of dedication only after a severe inner struggle. A second row of relatively uninvolved persons standing at the right clearly view and discuss the proceedings as an event of crucial importance. The essential character of the composition is determined by the fact that the main figure appears enwreathed by the bodies bending towards it and by the angels hovering above. There are nine Apostles on the left, three on the right. The group on the left includes five figures, the sweep of whose bodies corresponds symmetrically to the three on the other side. Behind them stand four disciples, with Judas, at the very edge of the picture, turning away, and the youthful St. John, hand on a decanter, alert to serve his master.

The group of portraitlike figures on the right is integrated with the composition, yet somehow aloof. It consists of Duke Federigo, whose striking profile is readily recognizable, and a man with a long beard, in rich Oriental costume, looking as though he were taken from a Netherlandish representation from the Old Testament. Although his portrait aspect is not too marked, it has been plausibly suggested that he is Caterino Zeno of Venice, who spent a long time among the Persians as a

representative of his ancestral city. He is known to have been in Urbino in 1474, on a political mission. Federigo has turned animatedly towards this stranger, who is obviously moved by the scene he is witnessing, as shown in the gesture of his hand and the inclination of his head. To the right of Federigo are two companions their heads turned towards each other. Visible between the duke and his Oriental guest, in half-length in a niche, as though within a window casement, is a woman with a child on her arm. Placed farther back, these figures are relatively small. The child, sumptuously attired, is almost certainly Federigo's son and heir apparent, born in 1472. The woman, however, is not his mother but rather a nurse. The mother had died soon after giving birth.

In composition and conception, Joos was here following a pictorial form developed in Italy, and perhaps this was at his patron's behest. The Italian painter who so felicitously transmitted this tradition to him can be identified with some assurance. Interestingly enough, it is Fra Angelico, the same Italian who left his impress upon Rogier van der Weyden⁶. Joos had been in Rome, where the Dominican had decorated the Capella del Sacramento in the Vatican with paintings. These frescoes have perished. Presumably, however, the Florentine there created a *Last Supper* similar to that by Joos in Urbino. One of his surviving altarpieces in San Marco, at least, illustrates the compositional approach that dominates the Urbino panel⁷.

6. See Vol. 11, p. 65, No. 22.

7. Reproduced in Schmarsow *loc. cit.*, p. 212.

In this Florentine picture, Fra Angelico offers a meaningful, animated and contrasting link between two ideas, showing a transitional phase from the parting meal itself to the sacramental act. Several of the Apostles are still seated at table, while others have risen to kneel in front to receive the communion.

In judging the Urbino panel, the pressure must be taken into account that rested upon the Netherlander by virtue of the commission, exerted by the scale of the figures and the compositional scheme, rooted in Southern tradition. Against this background, amid such marmoreal serenity, mathematical clarity and firm construction, the panel is Netherlandish enough in effect. Its surface is not very eloquent. Its poor state enjoins us to caution.

In this wide area, the drapery, with its many motives, seems notably petty, conceived on too small a scale. For the most part, the cloth lies in shallow valleys that edge up into tubular heights. These long ridges sweep on in parallel, or nearly so. The drapery of Dieric Bouts billows, that of Joos van Gent is drawn into hollows, clings to the body. In Dieric's vision, fabric swells like wool, as though it were lined; but in Joos's it takes on a tenuous consistency, like silk, sometimes almost like paper. Whenever the drapery is abundant, as in the robes of the soaring angels, the folds appear crumpled, angular, crystalline.

The heads are large, high when seen from the side, narrow, round at the top, with undersized occiputs. The unkempt hair, drooping into the forehead, together with the luxuriant beards, give the Apostles a rather dishevelled look, as of pilgrims, reminiscent of the Eyckian altarpiece in Ghent, of the pilgrims and hermits that appear on its shutters. The overall aspect tends a little away from Netherlandish individualization, in the direction of the general and typical. The humble contrition of the disciples may have been viewed as eminently 'pious' in the South, where such devoutness had become rare. Awed by the emotion-laden gravity that speaks from this panel, by the dramatic tension that marks it, the Italians may have over-

looked the flaws in its construction and been content with the foreigner's work.

So long as nothing was known of the output of Joos van Gent, except the works done on Italian soil, there was no way of telling by observation whether and in what degree his art had undergone changes in the Southern environment, down to the point when he embarked upon the *Communion*. But for several years now we have had reason to believe that a certain altarpiece in Ghent was painted there by Joos, i.e. between 1464 and 1468. This is a triptych located in a poorly lighted place in the church of St. Bavo (121). It has received little scholarly attention and was associated with Joos van Gent only by Winkler⁸.

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This large triptych, terminating above in the then new triple arch form, contains a *Crucifixion* in the centre and scenes from the story of Moses on the shutters (100, Plates 102-104). These are chosen so as to relate to the act of redemption—on the left, Moses striking water from the rock (131); on the right, Moses showing his people the brazen serpent. The fortunate identification of this major work, apparently painted between 1460 and 1470, was facilitated by the fact that it is in its original location in Ghent cathedral, the very place it was looked for. The relationship between this triptych and the panel in Urbino demonstrably painted by Joos van Gent, whether close or distant, is at any rate close enough. The span of this bridge is wide, but it stands up. From the circumstances with which we are familiar, we would expect a considerable discrepancy.

In the Ghent triptych, Joos pursues the course of Jan van Eyck more nimbly than did Dieric Bouts. The spaces are deepened with hill profiles pushed in from the sides like stage flats. The sky is cloud-flecked. The scene is thickly yet at once loosely populated. The figures, arrayed in depth, gradually dwindle in size towards the distance. The sharp contrast between large figures in the foreground and small ones in the background has been overcome. Their grouping is lively and entertaining, almost like a colourful fair, in defiance of the gravity of the occasion. Horses move past one another obliquely into the distance, at a brisk pace. The resilient agility of this master contrasts with the heavy stiffness of his Louvain colleague, with whom he has much in common in respect of figure types and the emotional impact of landscape. The white charger gleaming as a showpiece from a point near the centre is borrowed from the Eyckian altarpiece in the same church, as though in obeisance to the predecessor. The drapery, now tubular and curving, now of crumpled aspect, the lofty and narrow heads and the lively gesticulation all establish the relationship with the altar panel in Urbino. His careful draughtsmanship, his skilled technique, his deep chiaroscuro stamp Joos van Gent as fitting successor to Jan van Eyck and Dieric, a master in full command of all the tricks and media of Flemish painting. From this vantage point, we begin to understand what it was that commended him to the Italians—and we also gain a picture of the things he had to jettison en route to distant shores.

A work by the Ghent master that belongs to the same stylistic phase as the triptych in St. Bavo's turned up in Spain a few years ago. Moving from Paris to New York, it is now preserved in the home of Mr. George Blumenthal. Painted in water colour on canvas, this *Adoration of the Kings* (101, Plate 105) is quite well preserved for a work done in this technique. It was beyond any question painted in the Netherlands, i.e. before 1468 if it was done by Joos van Gent, presumably a little later than

8. *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*, 1916, p. 321 ff.

the triptych in St. Bavo's. The six main figures, at considerable distances from one another, are set in rather small size into the wide picture area. They are arranged in two rows, running parallel. The heads are like notes on musical staff lines, a compositional manner that prevails in the Urbino *Communion* as well, breathing a calculated sense of order, combining firmness with animation in its sweeping diagonals. On the right are the eldest king, the Virgin and Joseph, on the left the other two kings and the kneeling page who proffers a chalice to the youngest king. The entryway at the left is clogged with the throng of the retinue. Contrasted with this crowding, the grouping of the characters on the wide stage proper is all the more loose and open in effect. Each figure is invested with full freedom of action, slender and mobile, the youngest king with his laced waist almost displaying the delicacy of a dancer. Gentle inclinations and turns connect the drawn-out links in the chain of figures.

Since the surface of the painting is well-preserved, the subtle qualities of the draughtsmanship may be appreciated at every point. Only the background has become somewhat dull and dark. We think of Dieric's *Adoration* in Munich, done at about the same time. The difference lies in the rhythmical flow of Joos's narrative. Dieric's gathered richness and emotionally charged form is marked by a relaxed sense of spaciousness in this picture by the Ghent master, who makes comparatively little use of spatial depth, however. The light and empty ground, shown in high perspective, gives an old-fashioned effect. It takes up part of the picture area, against which the figures are set off as from a gold ground. The architecture of the hall is plain and unadorned. Deepened by the bed on which the Virgin sits, which is foreshortened in perspective from front to rear, it remains nevertheless rather arid and indistinct.

The faces of the older men are animated with grave devotion and remind one of the hermits and pilgrims of the Eyckian altarpiece. They are marked and furrowed by hardship. Human interest attaches to the singular head of Joseph, with its veins at the temple, the drooping nose with its rounded tip, the slightly parted lips. The senior king, shown in profile, comes close to the grotesque—round, bald skull, protruding eyes, thick, pendent nose, corners of the mouth drawn downwards sharply. The second king, like two members of the entourage at left, is an imposing, swarthy figure, of courtly, self-assured bearing. He knits his brow with a hint of arrogance—perhaps, indeed, he entertains reservations. The junior king has an air of grace and innocence, his wide head of slightly Negroid cast. His page and another fellow in the train are of his race, with short noses, slightly snubbed. But despite these sharp contrasts in character, the formal idiom remains on the moderate side, tempered by the painter's decorative sense. The Virgin's face is delicate and dreamy, almost as though she were not well. All the hands are lean and in gentle motion.

The full robes of the kneeling king and of the Virgin flow down in rich folds, drawn into shallow craters as they impinge angularly upon the ground. The massed cloth overlaps in many places, with wavy, rolling margins, and is artfully spread out in rippling rhythms. On the ground itself, the fabric arches into rounded ridges, like tree roots. Although, overall, there is a certain tenuous and empty quality—partly to be attributed to the special technique employed—the picture is prepossess-

ing, particularly on account of the graceful flow of movement and the calculated dignity of the postures.

The inward life of Joos van Gent is open and accessible, for he was never so firmly under the spell of religious devoutness as Dieric. When Joos ventured away from home in 1468, he was still capable of accepting and digesting foreign influences. His *Adoration* is pervaded by an imagination that is less concerned with the organic minutiae of nature than with the filling of areas, the deployment of figures, the gestures. The painter's aspirations were oriented towards the South.

Closely associated with the *Adoration* in New York—although the connection is not easy to fathom—is a smaller panel with the same theme, which was sold with the Ernest Odier auction in Paris and is now in a private collection in that city (102, Plate 105). Once again the Virgin is seated at the foot of a bedstead, her head in a similar attitude, and Joseph's is in the same place. The page boy of the Moorish king is mounting a step at the left edge, hurriedly to pass the vessel to his master, here as there. Yet the relationship of the smaller to the larger picture is in no sense that of a copy, and in style it departs widely from the paintings by the master from Ghent. In some characteristics, notably the shape of the hands, the style is close to Dieric's, and this Paris panel might figure as a very early work by Joos van Gent, unless it be the work of an unidentified painter who combined Dieric's draughtsmanship with Joos's compositional approach.

Vespasiano da Bisticci of Florence, on terms of acquaintance with the book-loving Federigo, tells us⁹ that the Duke of Urbino, a connoisseur of painting as well, was unable to find in Italy masters after his heart, i.e. those skilled in the art of oil-painting. It was for that reason, says Vespasiano, that he sent to Flanders for a worthy master whom he then summoned to Urbino, where he had him do many pictures, especially in one of his studies. There he had represented the philosophers and poets and doctors of the church, the Latin as well as the Greek, who were done with admirable skill. The Netherlander also portrayed His Highness, the likeness seeming to lack nothing but the breath of life.

None can doubt that this master was Joos van Wassenhove from Ghent, and the study the small, squarish chamber in the palace with the marvellous inlay work Vespasiano mentions with admiration. The paintings are no longer in place, but they have been preserved elsewhere, in the Louvre and the Palazzo Barberini at Rome, 14 portraits in each collection (103, Plates 106-115). One may infer an even division from these figures, indicating that none has been lost, and this is confirmed in an ancient description of the palace at Urbino. Bernardo Baldi gives us details concerning the decor of the study¹⁰. Above the sumptuous panelling, which extends more than two meters from the floor, the walls were divided into square fields to the ceiling, each one given over to an author, ancient or modern.

The state of preservation of the pictures in Paris and Rome is uneven, but on the whole good¹¹. They have been badly cared for, however, and are covered with deteriorated varnish and clumsy retouching. On the other hand, there is no sign of overcleaning, and the evidence of these now dingy portraits is more reliable than that of the roughly used *Communion* (114).

The pictures vary considerably in dimension. The height ranges from 90 to 120 cm., the width from 56 to 80. We must assume that there were two rows, one

9. *Opere*, Bologna, 1892, Vol. 1, p. 295.

10. *Descrizione del Palazzo Ducale di Urbino*, Rome, 1724, p. 57.

11. They are all reproduced in Venturi, *Storia dell'Arte Italiana*, Vol. 7, 2, p. 133 ff.

above the other, or else the 28 pictures (to which a portrait of the duke should probably be added) could not have been accommodated in the smallish chamber. In height at least, the pictures in each row must have been uniform. Minor variations might have been equalized by the framework. Proceeding from this dimension, we are able to divide the paintings into two equal groups, corresponding to the two tiers. Placing one of the taller pictures above one of the shorter ones and adding about 30 cm. for frames and inscriptions, one comes to 2.4 m., precisely the distance from the top of the panelling to the ceiling.

Each of the famous personages is shown in half-length or to the knees, and in a chamber, or else two of them, side by side, are shown in a single gallery. The perspective of the interior architecture permits us to reconstruct the lateral and vertical arrangement. The figures in flat-ceilinged, Renaissance-like chambers must have been below, those in cells with Gothic vaulting above (1151). We also have transcripts of the laudatory legends that accompanied the portraits.

Conclusions as to the original sequence have been drawn from the sequence of these transcripts¹², and the result not only makes inherent historical sense, but also agrees with observations based on the architecture, perspective and dimensions of the panels. The lower row begins with the sages of antiquity, while the luminaries of the church, headed by St. Peter (1161), occupy the upper row side by side, with Dante and Petrarca at the end. Several humanists have been sensibly added to the authors from pagan antiquity.

On more than one occasion, two personages of intellectual kinship, like Plato and Aristotle, are turned towards each other in disputation. Since the total number is even, and an inclination prevails to show figures by pairs, even numbers of pictures are to be expected on the individual walls. Since one wall is broken by a large window and therefore could not be used to the full, three walls remained to receive eight pictures each, while the Western window wall could take only four.

The West (1171) wall, I am inclined to believe, also afforded space for Federigo's portrait (104, Plate 116). This panel shows the duke seated in profile before a desk, with his son at a very tender age, and it fits in well with the decorative scheme of the study. The duke is reading, and from the pages of the tome have risen the spirits who have gained form on the walls all about, teaching, disputing, edifying as they turn towards him. The fact, moreover, that this portrait came to the Palazzo Barberini with the portraits of authors speaks for their original context, quite apart from Vespasiano's statement, who mentions a portrait of Federigo when discussing the decorations of the study.

The transcript of the laudations begins with Federigo's names and titles, together with the date of 1476. This inscription, minus the date, may still be read today below the ceiling of the study. We cannot be entirely certain, but this traditional date may be taken as the year in which the decorative work was completed.

Bombe, keeping to the transcript of the inscriptions, achieves a reconstruction that is altogether satisfactory¹³. Beginning at the West wall, the compiler of the inscriptions circled the room towards the right, first reading off the lower row, then repeating the performance with the upper one (1181). The only point on which I am at odds with Bombe is that I include the portrait of Federigo. The following sequence results:

12. K. Voll, *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, Vol. 24, 1901, p. 54 ff.

13. *Justus van Gent in Urbino*, *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Instituts in Florenz*, No. 3, 1909, p. 111 ff.

1. *Federigo* (Rome), 135 × 79, extending through both rows 1191. • 134.4 × 75.6
1201
2. *Plato* (Paris), 100 × 76, like the following, below. • 101.6 × 68.8
3. *Aristotle* (Paris), 100 × 76. • 100.3 × 68.5
4. *Ptolemy* (Paris), 97 × 68. • 97.8 × 66.5
5. *Boethius* (Rome), 98 × 67. • 97 × 62.9
6. *Cicero* (Rome), 102 × 79. • 101.3 × 73
7. *Seneca* (Paris), 100 × 76. • 98.7 × 78.1
8. *Homer* (Rome), 95 × 76. • 94.6 × 76.3
9. *Virgil* (Paris), 90 × 74. • 92 × 75.2
10. *Euclid* (Rome), 95 × 59. • 94.6 × 58.4
11. *Vittorino* (Paris), 95 × 63. • 94.9 × 63.8
12. *Solon* (Paris), 95 × 59. • 95.2 × 58.4
13. *Bartolus* (Rome), 95 × 59. • 95.2 × 58.5
14. *Hippocrates* (Rome), 98 × 67. • 97.6 × 63
15. *Pietro d' Albano* (Paris), 93 × 60. • 96.6 × 63.4
16. *St. Gregory* (Rome), 119 × 70, like the following, above. • 114.1 × 68.8
17. *St. Jerome* (Paris), 117 × 68. • 117.4 × 68.6
18. *St. Ambrose* (Rome), 119 × 70. • 118 × 65.9
19. *St. Augustine* (Paris), 116 × 62. • 118.4 × 63
20. *Moses* (Rome), 115 × 80. • 114.8 × 73.6
21. *Solomon* (Rome), 115 × 78. • 111.7 × 79.6
22. *St. Thomas Aquinas* (Paris), 114 × 76. • 114.9 × 76.3
23. *Duns Scotus* (Rome), 120 × 76. • 119.2 × 75.8
24. *Pius II* (Rome), 116 × 56. • 116 × 51.6
25. *Bessarion* (Paris), 118 × 56. • 115.9 × 56.3
26. *St. Albertus Magnus* (Rome), 116 × 36. • 116.2 × 53.8
27. *Sixtus IV* (Paris), 116 × 55. • 115.9 × 56.4
28. *Dante* (Paris), 111 × 64. • 111.2 × 64.7
29. *Petrarca* (Rome), 111 × 64. • 111.2 × 57.9

These 28 or 29 panels, 'authenticated' as the work of Joos van Gent by Vespasiano's report and in part kept in so readily accessible a place as the Louvre, have been ignored to a disgraceful degree. Three of the pictures in Paris are not even on exhibition, the others are aimlessly scattered among the Italian paintings, with the inane designation *École Italienne, Fin du xve Siècle* (121). Yet this landmark, incomparable both in volume and content, deserves the most careful consideration. The major reason why it has not received its proper due is that historians of both Italian and Netherlandish painting had trouble fitting it into their organized system of ideas. Schmarsow is the only scholar whose discussion is in keeping with the importance of the subject, and his remarks are well worth reading. His approach, however, is swayed by a prejudice—or so it seems to me. His judgment is dominated by one of his favourite notions, which he has long entertained and for which he has never tired to seek support. This is the influence of Melozzo da Forlì in Urbino. His disquisition, like a barrister's brief, 'proves' that Melozzo created the portraits in Federigo's study in partnership with Joos van Gent. Yet this conclusion does not seem to follow necessarily, as the only possible one, from Schmarsow's

keen and subtle observations. Beyond question, the style is half Netherlandish, half Italian. Schmarsow very plainly exposes those qualities that are rooted in Southern pictorial tradition. But the question is not whether Joos was able to change in Urbino—he *had* to change there. We know the circumstances, the dates, the forces that influenced him. When we study the paintings he did in Urbino, we perceive not merely the degree of his adaptation but the course and sequence of this readjustment; and there is no reason at all to doubt that the Netherlander did indeed attain the degree of Italianization seen in the *Studio dei Ritratti*. The road he travelled can be traced from the *Communion* to these portraits, and within the portrait series itself. There are considerable stylistic differences among them; and these very variations, bespeaking the painter's willingness to learn and capacity to grow, testify to the view that he was in essence solely responsible for these works. I say in essence, for I doubt that the plan for decorating the study in this way, initiated by the Italian duke, a man of intellectual stature and humanistic culture, was simply passed on to the 'barbarian,' to do with as he pleased. I feel certain that Federigo himself offered advice and direction, and that his scholarly advisers and Italian architects and painters also had a hand in the project; but of course the extent of this intervention must remain a matter for conjecture.

The choice of the 'authors' thoroughly reflects the spirit of Italian humanistic scholarship. The Netherlander was given models to follow, the personages were arranged in a proper sequence, and literary authority was cited on the subject of how they should be conceived in appearance. The pictorial form had to harmonize with the Renaissance style of the building. The Netherlander was instructed in the art of perspective and referred to the marvellous bag of tricks which had served Piero della Francesca—and perhaps Melozzo as well—in creating the illusion of space. Joos probably worked on these portraits between 1474 and 1476. He had been in Italy since 1468, in Urbino since 1473. More and more, he had embraced the proud and shining spirit of the place. I think it is possible to pinpoint the portraits with which he began in the study and those with which he ended. The panels in the upper row were done before those in the lower.

We are, of course, accustomed to deal in terms of the contrast between North and South. Our eyes are sharpened to perceive the marks of this contrast. Yet, although the discrepancy itself is apparent, its precise nature requires clarification. Are Schmarsow's conclusion and explanation correct? Did Melozzo conceive these pictures, Joos paint them? Is the ambiguity really one between plan and execution?

If the style can indeed be described as mixed or impure, it is nevertheless a style that uniformly pervades the entire series from stem to stern. Plan, composition, approach—all are marked by this dichotomy, from idea to final brush stroke. How are we to envisage the collaboration Schmarsow suggests? Melozzo might have delivered designs, coloured drawings, quick sketches or detailed cartoons—in other words, either thoroughly worked-out designs to which the painter was held, or proposals intended to assist the painter executing the work without tying him down. Melozzo might have made the preliminary drawings right on the panels, while Joos filled out and painted over the Italian's sketches. But when one endeavours to envisage this second possibility, it seems quite incompatible with the visible

evidence. The alternative is at least conceivable. The collaboration of an Italian master—whether Melozzo or another—can be imagined at many levels, but the more one examines the details, the less important seems the possible rôle of a design from another hand. In any event—and this is the salient point—Joos assimilated the material in such a way that it is wasted effort to try to isolate the individual contribution of any Italian master, no matter how much iconographical instruction the Northerner may have received.

This was a special challenge that could not be immediately met by methods learned in Netherlandish workshops. Joos had to enter into the Italian mentality, and indirectly into the Italian formal idiom, had to allow himself to be taught, had to accept pictorial directives and an iconographical scheme, whether by word of mouth or in written form. We are fond of speaking here of 'idealized' portraits, in a manner that does not at all apply to all parts of the work. Among the men represented are people the duke knew or had known. These portraits had to be right, had to be good likenesses. Yet Joos probably had little chance to paint from life. Existing likeness had to be provided, of Italian origin, of course. In the cases of Dante and Petrarca on the other hand he, the stranger, had to be made acquainted with the local tradition of how they were portrayed. For the most part, however, in the absence of any clear-cut portrait tradition, he was simply on his own.

The very nature of the commission as a whole called for individualization, for in this hall of fame a semblance of portraitlike realism was to be maintained, glossing over any lack of knowledge of what these great personages had really looked like. In fact, the Netherlander was better prepared for this task than his Italian contemporaries. To him it was second nature to represent a church father as though he had known him face to face, or to substitute some particular model. When Federigo awarded the commission, he trusted not merely the Flemish painter's skill in 'oil painting' but also his skill in portraiture, a skill calling for creative inventiveness rather than powers of observation.

Melozzo, on the other hand, offers either clear-cut portraits or idealized types; and the Italian makes a sharp distinction between these two approaches. No, the force we see at work in the *Studio dei Ritratti*—that individualization of idealized figures hard on the border of portraiture—goes back to the Netherlandish heritage. Joos refused to forego this element of individualization, with all the enrichment it implied, even when the nature of the challenge relieved him of the burden of observation from life and called for idealized types instead. Had an Italian of Melozzo's stripe collaborated, taken a significant part in the work, he would, if anything, have determined the relationship of the half-length figures to the total picture area and to the interiors shown in perspective. Schmarsow is at pains to demonstrate the influence of the Italian tradition in precisely these points. He places the portrait series in the line of evolution that leads from Mantegna by way of Piero della Francesca to Melozzo da Forlì. In my view, Joos—especially in the upper row, with which he began—shows little sign of that mathematical clarity, that harmonious interconnection between space and figure. His heroic figures are set in front of the space rather than within it. They are reduced between framing half-columns, set off in relief against wainscot partitions that separate them from the chambers, which lead a spatial life of their own in the background. Their relationship to the

niches and connected galleries that open into the study is never made clear. We do not really know just where and how they stand or sit, precisely what they are doing with their legs. In the lower row, the organic connection between place and figure is realized to a higher degree; but how are we to explain the Gothic forms and vaults in the upper row? Is it conceivable that Melozzo should have drawn this architecture, so utterly at odds with the style of the palace in Urbino? No, the Netherlandish element does not seem to have been spread over an Italian framework, it wells up from the depths with a sense of urgency. In spirit and emotional content, these paintings by Joos are marked by a sense of action and dramatic tension. Fraught with meaning on many levels, they look strange enough in their Italian setting. The characters differ from one another, like participants at a church council, with fanaticism, self-righteousness, proud reticence, stubbornness, serene and scholarly tranquillity represented in many nuances. We see contemplation, ominous brooding and vehement temper portrayed in an awkward, unwieldy fashion, shaped by a painter who did not quite reach the goal he had set himself.

Much weight is given to the hand—pointing, speaking, emphasizing. Joos lends great variety to gesture and clearly devoted much effort to the study of the hand—its natural shape, its movements—and we can follow his progress. The hands in the upper row are on the bony side, splayed like those in the *Communion* panel. Those in the lower row are plumper, heavy, contained, full of lines and other detail. A model of the form Joos gradually evolved is the realistic, portraitlike hand of Federigo in the likeness at Rome.

Turbid depth is the mark of this series, a quality quite incompatible with the calm, transparent, self-assured style of Melozzo, whose personal sense of beauty, moreover, has left no trace in these portraits.

In the Brera Gallery at Milan stands an altarpiece from the church of St. Bernardino in Urbino, painted about 1472 by Piero della Francesca¹⁴. A gift of Federigo, it shows the Virgin with saints and angels, and also the duke, kneeling. His hands, joined in prayer, are noteworthy for their obtrusive, fleshy realism, underlined by the heavy pigments in which they are painted (Plate 117). In fact, they clash with the harmony of the work and were clearly not painted by Piero—they are as heavy—almost plump—as the hands in the portrait of Federigo in Rome. Probably the hands drawn by Piero were not 'lifelike' enough for the duke, who therefore had them subsequently overpainted by his Netherlandish master. If this is indeed true, it throws a sharp light on Federigo's relationship to Joos van Gent. The Netherlander was thoroughly familiar with the duke's bodily configuration. So appreciative was Federigo of his acute powers of observation, his love of realism, that he did not shrink from having this discrepant note added to the Italian altarpiece.

The ground floor of the palace at Urbino held the library, which Federigo was intent upon giving rich and meaningful pictorial embellishment, no less than the small study in the upper storey. This vaulted, gallerylike hall is 13.66 m. long and 6.25 m. wide. Next to it is a chamber of similar shape and size. In one of these rooms, probably the second, the walls of which were free of bookshelves, were the pictorial decorations, of which four panels (105, Plates 118-121), two in the National Gallery in London, and two in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin, have survived (122). Represented were the Seven Liberal Arts, to wit:

14. Ascribed to Fra Carnovale by Venturi, *loc. cit.*, p. 101.

- a. *Grammar* (lost). Inscription: *Federicus Montefeltrius*
- b. *Rhetoric* (London), 184 × 102. *dux urbini montis feretri ac* • 157.5 × 105.4
- c. *Dialectic* (Berlin), 150 × 110. *durantis comes ser* • destroyed in 1945
- d. *Geometry* (lost). *Siciliae capitaneus generalis*
- e. *Arithmetic* (lost). *Sanctae que Romanae*
- f. *Music* (London), 184 × 97. *icclesie gonfalonarius* • 156 × 97.6
- g. *Astronomy* (Berlin), 150 × 110. 1476 (?) • destroyed in 1945

The London panels are preserved in their original dimensions, while those in Berlin have been cropped and subsequently pieced out again. The running inscription above the pictures consisted of Federigo's name and titles, in a form known to us from an ancient transcription. Since sections of this inscription are visible in at least three of the paintings, we can establish the sequence of the representations and supplement the missing parts of it. The date is questionable, but it was certainly not earlier than 1474, for it was only in August of that year that Federigo was invested with the title of duke. Probably the date is 1476 or 1477. In Berlin and London, these pictures are catalogued under the name of Melozzo da Forlì (123), essentially on the authority of Schmarsow, who categorically supported this attribution, first in his book about Melozzo in 1886 (p. 84 ff.), and later (1912) in an essay published by the Sächsische Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.

Since *Rhetoric* and *Dialectic* are lighted from the left, *Music* and *Astronomy* from the right, three pictures each were presumably mounted on the two long walls, and one on the narrow wall opposite the window. The cycle began with *Grammar*, obliquely across from the entrance, by the window. The pictures looked down from a considerable height, perhaps separated from one another by tapestries.

So far as we can judge, by analogy with the surviving pictures, each of the Liberal Arts was represented as a woman seated upon a throne within a niche. A flight of steps, carpeted with brocade, led up to these thrones. To one side of each woman, on the steps, knelt a figure; and we can recognize some of these, or make shrewd guesses about their identity. With *Dialectic*, it is the duke himself. With *Rhetoric*, it is a youthful man in lost profile, whom some wish to identify as Antonio Montefeltre, a natural son of Federigo. The man kneeling before *Music* has been shown to be Costanzo Sforza, the duke's brother-in-law¹⁵.

The man at the feet of *Astronomy* is supposed to be Ottaviano Ubaldini della Carda¹⁶. Schmarsow goes even further in his portrait identifications¹⁷, suspecting that the women representing the Arts are female members of the house of Urbino, and speculating about the lost panels as well. He conjectures that the allegorical ladies are Federigo's six daughters, together with Pantasilea Baglioni (the old woman representing *Astronomy*), governess of the young princesses.

The two pictures in London are agreeably well-preserved, those in Berlin less so. *Astronomy*, especially, is badly damaged and disfigured with restoratory work.

The now customary attribution to Melozzo da Forlì cannot be maintained in the face of the *coloris* and brushwork of these paintings. If I am correctly informed, more and more voices are rising against this attribution, hardened almost into tradition, especially from the ranks of Italian connoisseurs¹⁸. Even Schmarsow allows Joos the execution, claiming only invention, composition and drawing for the Italian—in other words, the same kind of collaboration he posits for the *Studio dei*

15. J. Friedländer, *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, Vol. 2, 1881, p. 175.

16. Bombe (*loc. cit.*, p. 133) disagrees.

17. Melozzo, p. 99.

18. Cf. Venturi, *loc. cit.*, p. 62.

Ritratti. There can be no doubt that the *matière*, the deep, full chiaroscurolike appearance, foreign to the Italian technique, stems from 'oil painting,' here as in the study. Schmarsow's discussion is dominated by the feeling that the Netherlander, by disposition, origin and training, was incapable of this conception; and I must say that this feeling seems better justified in respect of the Liberal Arts than the portraits in the study. In any event, this second decorative commission can be attributed to him only on the assumption that he had gone farther along the road he had begun to follow in the study. I sense here a certain deliberate and representative dignity, a clarity in the projection of space, a harmony within the meaning of the Italian Renaissance, qualities that are not stamped into the portrait series with nearly the same assurance and consistency. The collaboration of some Italian—whether he was Melozzo or another—seems, if not a necessary explanation, at least one that is convenient and useful. But we do not accomplish very much by merely falling in with Schmarsow's hypothesis. It becomes necessary to state more precisely just how such a collaboration is to be envisaged. And in this endeavour, we encounter almost insurmountable difficulties. The essential pictorial idea is the juxtaposition of two contrasting figures—the seated woman, lighted from the front; and below, in front, to one side, separated in space, the disciple. The direction of the lighting is maintained with consistency, in the context of the group. Each of the two characters, at different points in space, draws brightness and colour from a single source, thereby being fixed in space, in tone and hue. It was a pictorial idea that could be realized only by a technique of painting that created the illusions of light, air, shadowy depths and transparent shadows as though by magic. Joos adapted the task to his means and his skill. The peculiar and extremely advanced effect of these panels lies in the play of light, the composition of the colours, the chiaroscuro. It is an almost hopeless undertaking to separate linear design from painted execution, in a kind of optical-intellectual analysis, like an x-ray plate, that would doubtfully discover the contribution of an Italian beneath the achievement of the Netherlander.

Seen afresh and in ignorance of dates, the pictures are unique and extraordinary in respect of the problems of place as well as time of origin which they raise. I have put this to the test more than once, by asking appreciative but unsophisticated art lovers to suggest where they were painted, and when. The answers ranged from Italy to Germany and the Netherlands, and invariably a later date was guessed. The usual reply was 'early 16th century.'

Would this element of anticipation really be explained by the intervention of a Melozzo? Schmarsow talks at length of the sense of freedom in these figures, the relaxed poise that joins them in three-dimensional space, and he regards this achievement as lying in the main line of Italian evolution, quite unattainable outside it.

Let us imagine how Melozzo might have reacted to such a challenge. Niches and steps are seen from below. Melozzo would have turned all of his cunning upon showing the figures—their bodies, their heads—in foreshortened perspective, thus assigning them their proper place in the spatial context. Yet in fact the foreshortening of the bodies is carried out only sketchily, and in the case of the heads not at all. Joos achieves the integration Schmarsow admires so much purely as a painter, not as the skilled draughtsman Melozzo was.

If we do posit the collaborative endeavour of two masters, who must be viewed as the true author? Surely the one who formed the picture in his mind's eye. And that form was determined by the painter's technique. I cannot bring myself to look upon the Netherlander as a subservient artisan, an organ of the draughtsman who made the design. His essential means of expression is *chiaroscuro*, and for it no preliminary stage is to be found in the Umbrian-Roman practice of art. Leonardo da Vinci was only 25 years old when these pictures were painted. True, they are hard to fit into the Northern pattern as well. Perhaps the best way to regard them is as blossoms from the Nordic branch, budding and flowering precociously under the Southern sun.

It is a long way from the triptych in St. Bavo's to the Liberal Arts from Urbino, improbably long, yet intermediate stages are visible. Understanding the development of another painter from Ghent, Hugo van der Goes, we are likely to concede to a member of his generation a potential for surprising growth.

Another grandiose piece of painting, also, it would seem, part of the decorative store of the palace at Urbino, is preserved in Windsor Castle¹⁹. It shows Federigo and his son, the latter looking a little older than in the picture at Rome, both of them in half-length and pure profile. They are seen from below between columns in a meeting-hall, all done in consistent perspective. Behind them on the right, three gentlemen of portraitlike aspect, evidently familiars of the duke, are seated along the wall. All are listening to the discourse of a man standing at left in the dark. In the background several persons are entering the shadowy room by a door. The sense of space and distance lends an overall air of nobility, of judicial austerity, pervaded by the pathos of sovereignty. I have examined this panel only once, years ago, and cannot judge its technique. Painted about 1478, it seems to bear a resemblance to the Liberal Arts. Schmarsow seems to contradict his main thesis, when he unhesitatingly leaves or gives this of all paintings to the master from Ghent. If Joos was able to do it without Italian help, he needed no collaborator for the Liberal Arts and the *Studio dei Ritratto* either. If, on the other hand, it seems necessary to assume the intervention of an Italian to explain the stylistic phenomenon, there is another to consider besides Melozzo, namely Bramante, who spent his youth in Urbino and was apparently still there at the time Joos worked there. When we examine the later work of Bramante in Milan, we find it quite plausible to suspect that he was trained on precisely such decorative tasks as Federigo was in the habit of putting his artists to in Urbino.

Joos van Gent, a pilgrim to Rome before Jan Gossart, deliberately strove for Southern form. Rather than the chilly and bare illusionism, the degeneration of Netherlandish painting style, which later Roman sojourners sustained, Joos's early adaptation resulted in a singular blend, in which Southern dignity and grandeur of form were warmed to the core by the Netherlandish skill with colours and lifted into a shimmering, crepuscular light.

19. Reproduced in Venturi, *loc. cit.*, p. 159.

Supplement to Joos van Gent

- 58 The exceedingly thorough book by Jacques Lavalleye, *Juste de Gand* (Brussels and Rome, 1936), fortunately affords me no occasion whatever to change my views, since in all essential points the author comes to the conclusions I have briefly formulated. Lavalleye, by convincing argument, rejects Melozzo da Forlì's collaboration in the decorations of the palace at Urbino, asserted in particular by Schmarsow, and also any considerable participation by Pedro Berruguete, advocated by Allende Salazar, among others. Documents do show that this Spaniard, described as *Pietro Spagnolo pittore*, was in Urbino in 1477, and he may have worked as an assistant to the Netherlander. Indeed, the paintings he subsequently did in Spain can be taken to show the effects of that service. But Joos van Gent remains the creator of the paintings in Urbino and essentially their painter as well.

(from Volume XIV)

A small circle (o) indicates additional material from Friedländer's Volume XIV, or, when stated explicitly, from another publication by this author. A small black dot (•), material added by the editors.

The Catalogues

CATALOGUE A: THE PAINTINGS OF DIERIC BOUTS IN THE ORDER OF THEIR ORIGIN

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1. (Plates 1, 2) *Four Panels* 1241: *The Annunciation*; *The Visitation*; *The Nativity*; *The Adoration of the Kings*. Prado, Madrid, No. 1461 (80×56 each), formerly in the Escorial. (On state of preservation and dating cf. p. 22 ff., above.) • 80×105—56 cm.

2. (Plates 3, 5) *Altarpiece with Shutters*: Centre, *The Deposition*; left, *Christ on the Cross, with the Mourners*; right, *The Resurrection*. Colegio del Patriarca (Corpus Christi), Valencia 1251. Exhibited in Madrid in 1892, cf. Justi, *Miscellaneen aus Drei Jahrhunderten*, Vol. 1, p. 324. (On the dating, cf. p. 23, above.) • 59.7×47.8—21 cm.

a. (Plates 3, 4, 6) Granada cathedral (Capilla Real). An exact replica (centre 191×155). Cf. Gómez Moreno, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, Vol. 40, 1908, p. 289 ff. 1261 • 190.5×143—188×58 cm.

3. (Plate 7) *The Entombment*. National Gallery, London, No. 664 (86×71). Water colour on canvas, unusually well-preserved for a painting in this technique. Formerly in Milan. (Cf. p. 24, above.) 1271 • 90×74.2 cm.

4. (Plate 8) *The Lamentation*. Louvre, Paris, No. 2196 (67×48; cf. p. 24, above.)

a. (Plate 9) Städelches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt, No. 97a (70×50). Departures from the original, notably in the landscape. The state of preservation is less than perfect. A workshop copy.

b. (Plate 9) Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne (Dormagen collection), No. 421 (106×135). Mediocre copy. • This copy has been disposed of by the museum and is now in private hands in Amsterdam • W.J. Vroom collection, Amsterdam; 57.3×49.6 cm.

c. Present location unknown. Centrepiece of a triptych with donors and saints on the shutters, possibly painted in Bruges about 1480 1281. • This copy, by the Master of the Legend of St. Lucy, once in the Spiridon collection, Paris, was auctioned in Berlin and is now in the Schloss Rohoncz Collection (Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza), Lugano. • Cat. No. 161; 75×61—27 cm.

5. (Plate 10) *Christ on the Cross, with the Virgin and St. John*. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, No. 533B (88×71). From the Thiem collection. The buildings in the background are usually regarded a view of Brussels. Especially close to the Louvre *Lamentation* in the types. Certain doubts concerning the master's 'own hand' are not easily disposed of. The familiar unitary tone quality is lacking, especially in the landscape. The profoundly soulful faces are worthy of Dieric. The gesture of St.

John's hand duplicates one in *Moses and the Burning Bush* (No. 13, below). • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

a. (Plate 11) Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, No. 543 (71 × 107). A replica with saints added, the centrepiece of a triptych, one shutter of which, showing Sts. Agatha and Claire (291), is in Berlin (No. 550), while the other, showing Sts. Catherine and Barbara, is in the Provinzialmuseum, Bonn (Nos. 25, 26). The work of an uninspired follower. • The shutter from the Bonn museum was auctioned in 1936 in Cologne. • The centrepiece and the right wing are now on loan from the Berlin Museum to the Kunstsammlung der Georg-August-Universität, Göttingen; the shutters measure 72 × 51 cm.

6. (Plate 12, 13) *St. John on Patmos*. Museum, Rotterdam, No. 32 (68 × 64). Verso, in grisaille, St. Agnes at full-length. The heavy-handed style and certain uncharacteristic traits put Dieric's authorship in question (30). The stiff, rectilinear character of the landscape is noteworthy, not unlike the Berlin Madonna (No. 93, below). I am inclined to accept the panel.

7. (Plates 13) *Portrait of a Man in Half-Length*. Fragment, a donor from an altar shutter. Alfred Brown collection, London (formerly James Osmaston collection). Exhibited at the Guildhall, London, in 1906, No. 4 (25 × 20). The shape of the head and the expression and form of the hand are thoroughly in Dieric's style and worthy of him. • Now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington (Samuel H. Kress Foundation), No. 1618 (K. 1897); 25.6 × 20.4 cm.

8. (Plates 14-16) *Altarpiece with Shutters: Centre, The Martyrdom of St. Erasmus; shutters, Sts. Jerome and Bernard*. St. Peter's, Louvain (82 × 80—34). Exhibited at Bruges in 1902, No. 35. On the frame moulding, below, a late and unverified inscription: *Opus Theodorici Bouts. Anno 1448*. (Cf. p. 20, above.)

a. (Plate 14) H. C. Lodge's collection, Washington. A free copy of the *St. Jerome in Half-Length*. • Apparently still in the possession of the Lodge family.

9. (Plate 17) *Virgin and Child in Half-Length* (311). Bargello, Florence (Carrand collection, No. 34, 24 × 18). Good state of preservation, only the child's foot having been touched up. (Cf. p. 28 f., above.) • 20.8 × 15.5 cm.

a. (Plate 17) Metropolitan Museum, New York (Davis collection—24 × 20). A careful replica, of approximately equal merit. • No. 30.95.280; 21.6 × 16.5 cm.

b. Art market, Frankfurt (1922). A replica on softwood, with haloes, possibly Spanish. • Haversham auction at Christie's, London, 22 February 1924, No. 103. Now in the possession of the art dealer Robert Finck, Brussels; 40.6 × 27.1 cm.

c. (Plate 17) Chalandon collection, Paris. A good deal more of the Virgin is visible below, and two angels with a crown have been added above. Reproduced in *Les Arts*, June 1905, p. 24.

10. (Plate 19) *Portrait of a Man*. Warneck collection, Paris (21 × 17). Exhibited in Bruges in 1907. No. 179, attributed to Jan van Eyck (321). (Cf. p. 28, above.) • Now

in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Friedsam collection, New York • No. 32.100.41.

11. (Plate 19) *Virgin and Child in Half-Length*. Wildenstein art gallery, New York (1924). From the Stroganoff collection, Rome (32.5 × 22.5). (Cf. p. 28 f., above.) • Now in Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. No. 1959.186; 29.5 × 20.2 cm.

12. (Plate 20) *Portrait of a Man*. National Gallery, London, No. 943 (31 × 20). Formerly in the Samuel Rogers collection, where it was accounted a self-portrait by Memlinc. Dated 1462. (Cf. p. 27, above.)

13. (Plate 21) *Moses and the Burning Bush*. John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia (catalogue, Vol. 2, No. 339; 43.5 × 34.5). Formerly in the R. Kann collection, Paris, and the Willett collection, Brighton.

14. (Plate 22) *Virgin in Half-Length*. National Gallery, London, No. 2595 (39 × 27), from the Salting Bequest. Excellent state of preservation. (Cf. p. 28, above.)

15. (Plate 23) *Virgin in Half-Length*. Staedelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt, No. 108a (31 × 22). (Cf. p. 28, above.)

a. (Plate 23) Correr Museum, Venice. A careful replica of somewhat lesser merit. • 29.5 × 20.5 cm.

16. (Plate 24) *Jesus in the House of Simon*, with a monk in white cassock as the donor. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, No. 533a (41 × 61—A. Thiem collection). Exhibited in Bruges in 1902, No. 39. Perfect state of preservation. Formerly in Milan. • Formerly in Turin, not Milan. • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

17. (Plate 25) *Virgin in Full-Length*, seated in a hall, with a courtyard behind, two angels on each side. Cathedral, Capilla Real, Granada (53 × 35). Reproduced in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, October 1908. • 53.8 × 39 cm.

18. (Plates 26–32) *Altarpiece with the Last Supper in the Centre and Four Shutter Paintings*. St. Peter's Louvain (centrepiece, 180 × 151). The shutter paintings, once in the Berlin museum and the Munich Pinakothek, have been joined to the centrepiece. There is documentary evidence of Dieric's authorship, between 1464 and 1468. The centrepiece was exhibited at Bruges in 1902, No. 36. (Cf. p. 15 ff., above.) • The four panels of the wings measure 88.5 × 71.5 cm each.

19. (Plate 33) *Coronation of the Virgin*. Akademie, Vienna, No. 558 (83 × 85.5).

20. (Plates 34, 35) *Two Altarpiece Shutters: The Taking of Jesus* (verso, in grisaille, *St. John the Evangelist*); *The Resurrection*. Pinakothek, Munich, Nos. 112, 113, 1449. (On the reverse of the *Resurrection* was a *St. John the Baptist*, now at Dessau

Castle.) 1331 (Each panel, 106 × 68.) The four paintings are from the H.W. Campe collection, Leipzig 1341. The Dessau painting was exhibited in Bruges in 1902, No. 219. The inside paintings are not in a perfect state of preservation, the paint layer appearing torn and punctured in places. ○ The *St. John the Baptist* is now in the Schloss Rohoncz Collection (Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza), Lugano. ● This panel is now in the Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio (Gift of Hanna Fund), No. 51.354.

21. (Plate 36) *Virgin and Child with Sts. Peter and Paul*. National Gallery, London, No. 774 (69 × 72). Well-preserved, formerly in Bologna, about 1465 1351.

22. (Plate 37) *Jesus with St. John the Baptist and a Donor*. Collection of Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria, Munich. From the Leuchtenberg Gallery (St. Petersburg—52 × 38). (Cf. p. 24, above.) ● Now on loan to the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek, Munich, from the Wittelsbacher Ausgleichfonds, Munich.

23. (Plate 41) *The Nativity*. A fragment showing Joseph and two angels, worshipping the child, who lies on the ground. John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia (catalogue, Vol. 2, No. 340; 15.5 × 12). The state of preservation of this painting makes the determination of its authorship difficult. ● In its present state the panel measures 24 × 12 cm. The dimensions given above concern only the original fragment.

24. (Plates 38-40) *Altarpiece with Shutters: Centre, The Adoration of the Kings*; left, *St. John the Baptist*; right, *St. Christopher*. On the reverse of the shutters, in grisaille, *Sts. Barbara and Catherine*. Pinakothek, Munich, No. 107 (61 × 61—26). Known in the Boisserée collection as 'The Pearl of Brabant.' (On provenance and dating, cf. p. 21, above.) 1361 ● Inv. No. WAF 76-78; 62.6 × 62.6—27.5 cm.

25. (Plate 41) *Two Fragments from a Nativity*. A Virgin in half-length, in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, No. 545 B (24 × 14.5); Joseph in half-length with two shepherds in the background, in the Noll collection, Frankfurt, present location uncertain. Exhibited in Bruges in 1902, No. 44 (21 × 18.5). The Berlin painting comes from the abbey of Salmansweiler and was subsequently in private hands in Freiburg i.Br. ○ The fragment from the Noll collection has gone to the Louvre, Paris. ● The fragment with the Virgin is now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem; 24.9 × 19.7 cm.

a. (Plate 41) W. Müller collection, Berlin. A copy of the entire composition. ● Subsequently in the Wildenstein and Co. Gallery, New York; 32 × 25 cm.

26. (Plate 42) *Virgin and Child in Full-Length*, seated in a gilt niche hatched in black. Louvre, Paris, No. 2195 (20 × 13). Black-dotted or hatched gilt ground appears nowhere else in Dieric's work, although it was popular among his imitators.

27. (Plate 42) *Donor Portrait in Half-Length*. A fragment, the monk shown in a white cassock. Antwerp museum (Ertborn collection), No. 253 (39 × 23). The

panel is rounded at the top and its background overpainted. Judging by the style and the subtlety of line, it is a remnant of an altarpiece by the master's hand. In the older registers it is attributed to Jan van Eyck or Memlinc.

28. (Plate 42) *The Annunciation*. The Hermitage, St. Petersburg, No. 446 (29 × 36).
○ Now in the Gulbenkian collection, Paris ● Now in the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, Oeiras.

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29. (Plates 43-45) *Altarpiece with Shutters: Centre, The Martyrdom of St. Hippolytus*; left, a donor couple (painted by Hugo van der Goes); right, a group of men (an obscure scene from the life of the saint). On the reverse of the shutters, in grisaille, *Sts. Hippolytus and Elisabeth* 1371. St. Sauveur's, Bruges (91 × 91-40). Exhibited in Bruges in 1902, No. 37. (On the nature and dating of this triptych, cf. p. 19, above.)

30. (Plate 46) *The Road to Heaven*. Lille museum, No. 747 (115 × 69). From the Nieuwenhuys collection, formerly at Tongerlo abbey. This panel and the one that follows are part of a *Last Judgment*, possibly the one Dieric did for the Stadhuis about 1470 1381. (Cf. p. 21-22, above.)

31. (Plate 47) *The Descent of the Damned*. Louvre, Paris, (113 × 68.5) 1391. ● Now reunited with No. 30 in the Palais des Beaux-Arts, Lille; 115 × 68.8 cm.

32. (Plate 51) *Portrait of a Man*. Metropolitan Museum, New York (Altman collection), No. B666-2 (28.5 × 21) 1401. From the collection of Baron Albert Oppenheim, Cologne, to which this painting, together with two portraits by Memlinc, came from private hands in Russia. Exhibited in Bruges in 1902, No. 38. (Cf. p. 27 f., above.) ● No. 14.40.644; 30.5 × 21.6 cm.

33. (Plates 48-50) *The Two Justice Panels: Execution of the innocent count; the countess's ordeal by fire before Emperor Otto*. Brussels museum, Nos. 65, 66 (323 × 182). From the documents, four panels were planned, but only two were done by the time of the master's death, one of them not fully completed 1411. The commission gives the dimensions as 25 feet in width and 12 feet in height. (On the state of preservation, cf. p. 18 ff, above.)

CATALOGUE B: THE PAINTINGS OF ALBERT VAN OUWATER, INCLUDING THOSE ATTRIBUTED TO HIM ONLY TENTATIVELY, TOGETHER WITH SOME DUTCH PANELS FROM THE TIME BEFORE 1470

34. (Plate 52) *The Raising of Lazarus*. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, No. 532a (122 × 92). Acquired in 1889 in Genoa. Authenticated by van Mander's report. Cf. *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, Vol. 35, 1890, p. 35 ff. (Cf. p. 34 f., above.) 1421 ● Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

35. *Head of a Donor*, the hand of a saint at the back of the head. Metropolitan Museum, New York, No. v 29—1, erroneously identified as Thomas à Becket (10×9). Cf. Weale's large van Eyck volume, p. 171. (Cf. p. 36, above.) • No. 17.190.22 (Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan; see Volume 1, Plate 97c.)
- 64 36. (Plate 53) *Virgin and Child in Half-Length*. Metropolitan Museum, New York, No. Ou 9-1 (39×31). Acquired in 1922 on the London art market. Attributed to van Ouwater in *Burlington Magazine*. (For my views on this painting, cf. p. 36, above.) • No. 22.96.
37. (Plate 55) *The Gathering of Manna*. Douai museum, No. 792 (66×31). Exhibited in Valenciennes in 1918 (cf. *Geborgene Kunstwerke aus dem Besetzten Nordfrankreich*, No. 420, where it is identified as 'close to Aelbert van Ouwater'—for my own judgment, cf. p. 36, above) 1431. • 66.5×51 cm.
38. (Plate 56) *Altarpiece with Shutters: Centre, Christ on the Cross with the Virgin and St. John; shutters, St. Christopher and The Mass of Pope Gregory*, verso, in grisaille, *The Annunciation*. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, No. 44 (73×48—20). At the centre of the landscape background, Utrecht cathedral. Cf. Winkler, *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, 1923, p. 136ff. Probably done in Utrecht about 1460. • On loan to the Centraal Museum, Utrecht.
39. (Plate 57) *An Altar Panel with 18 Scenes from the Life of Jesus*. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, No. 39 (103×167). Acquired in 1889 from the church of Our Lady in Roermond. Near the donatrix an escutcheon, taken as pointing to the Pallands and Merodes 1441. Reproduced in Winkler, *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, 1923, p. 137. (Cf. p. 37, above.) • Each scene: 33×17 cm. Canvas on oak.
40. (Plate 58) *Altarpiece with Shutters*. Centre and shutters, scenes from the life of the Virgin; reverse of the shutters, eight scenes from the Passion. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, No. 39b (84×152—61). Auctioned by Muller in Amsterdam in 1912, reproduced in the auction catalogue. (Cf. p. 37, above.) Similar to No. 39, provincial, from South Holland, about 1450. • On loan to the Rijksmuseum Twenthe, Enschede.
41. (Plate 58) *Votive Panel of Raes van Haemstede: Centre, Christ Giving the Blessing*, the donor family on the sides. Utrecht museum, No. 1 (63×77). Reproduced in Martin-Moes, *Altholländische Malerei*, Leipzig, 1912, No. 37. On the date (about 1460), cf. p. 37, above.

CATALOGUE C: THE PAINTINGS OF ALBERT BOUTS, ARRANGED BY SUBJECT

42. (Plate 59) *Moses and the Burning Bush, and Gideon, Kneeling and Listening to the Words of the Angel*. L. Hirsch collection London (74.5×41). Exhibited in Bruges

in 1902, No. 41, reproduced in my publication on that show, Pl. 24. The picture has been assembled from the two shutters of a triptych, the centrepiece of which presumably was a Madonna. The two scenes from the Old Testament make symbolic reference to the Immaculate Conception (the burning bush that does not burn up, Gideon's dewy fleece). A fine and perfectly preserved work of the master's middle period (about 1490). • Auctioned in London in 1934, subsequently on the Vienna art market (Silberman). • Now in the Marion Kogler McNay Art Institute, San Antonio, Texas.

43. (Plate 59) *Abraham Greeting King Melchizedek*. Art market, Lucerne (Steinmeyer, 1920). Formerly in the Hommel collection, Zurich (50×31). Probably a shutter from an altarpiece of the Last Supper. Of rather late origin, perhaps already 16th century. • Now in the Bentinck Thyssen collection, Paris.

44. (Plate 60) *The Annunciation*. Pinakothek, Munich, No. 114 (115×107). With the master's signature. Shown in the light of the middle window are the arms of Louvain, the arms of the painter (with an a), and a house mark. (Cf. p. 39, above.) Rather severe and archaic in line, possibly a replica of an original composition by Dieric (done about 1480). • Inv. No. H.G. 79.

a. (Plate 60) John L. Severance collection, Cleveland, Ohio. Formerly in the E. Schweitzer collection, Berlin, but not included in the auction of this collection (50×41). A careful, excellently preserved replica. (Cf. p. 39, above.) • Now in the Cleveland Museum of Art, No. 42.635.

b. (Plate 60) Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, No. 530 (93×62, arched at the top). The master's signature in the window arms. (Cf. p. 39, above.) A careful replica, reversed, slightly later than the Munich specimen, farther removed in execution from Dieric's style and more characteristic of Albert. • Since 1925, on loan from the Berlin Museum to the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm; 95×83.5 cm.

45. (Plate 61) *The Virgin, Worshipped by Joseph*. Collection of the Comtesse de Béarn, Paris, formerly Felix collection, Leipzig (ca. 30×60). An excellent, rather early work by the master. (Cf. p. 40 f., above.) • Now in the Marquis de Ganay collection, Paris; 25×41 cm.

A copy of this composition in full-length, of slight merit is in the collection of the New York Historical Society (B. 122). • (Bryan collection); 43.2×42.2 cm.

46. (Plate 62) *The Nativity*. Antwerp museum (Ertborn collection), No. 223 (94.5×120). About 1490, with hints of Hugo van der Goes.

47. (Plate 61) *Jesus in the House of Simon*. Brussels museum, No. 626 (39×59). A replica, in reverse, of the panel by Dieric in the Berlin museum (No. 16, above). The place of the donor is taken by the standing figure of a young man of portrait aspect, whom Hulin chooses to identify as a self-portrait by Albert. Probably done at a very early date. • 41×61 cm.

48. (Plate 63) *The Transfiguration of Christ*. Christ, standing on a hill, in a white robe,

three apostles kneeling below. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, No. 99 (70×44, rounded at the top).

49. (Plate 64) *The Last Supper*. Brussels museum, No. 542 (102×72). A variant of Dieric's Last Supper in Louvain. Of rather late date (about 1500).

50. (Plate 64) *Christ Carrying the Cross*, with an executioner. A crowded segment with two heads and two hands. Lepke auction, Berlin, 11th March 1913, No. 123 identified as 'School of Jan van Eyck' (19×16). Crude, late execution. • The painting came to the Lepke sale from the von Osmitz collection; present location unknown.

51. (Plate 65) *Christ on the Cross*, with the Virgin and St. John. Brussels museum, No. 854 (186×126). Rather late.

52. (Plate 65) *Christ on the Cross*, with the Virgin, St. John, and a donatrix. Schiff auction, Paris, 1905, No. 119 (70×59). The types are somewhat unusual. Very late, if it is painted by the master at all. • Apparently sold later in New York.

53. (Plate 66) *The Crucifixion*. Marmottan collection, Paris, formerly in private hands in Cologne (dimensions unknown). A narrow panel, originally arched at the top, subsequently squared off. A major work of many figures (about 1495) 145 l. • Since 1934 in the Musée Marmottan, Paris • (Institut de France), 131×62.2 cm.

54. (Plate 67) *The Lamentation*. Städtisches Historisches Museum, Frankfurt (50.5×49.5). Composition after Rogier. (Cf. p. 40, above.) Shutters showing Sts. Peter and Catherine (60×29) have been attached 1461. • Inv. No. B. 934; 53×51.5 cm (central panel).

55. (Plate 68) *Altarpiece with Shutters*: Centre, *Virgin at Prayer*; right, *Jesus Appearing to His Mother*; left, *Virgin with Six Men and Women* 1471. Outside, in grisaille, *Sts. Catherine and Margaret*. Formerly in the Glitza collection, Hamburg (later on the Paris art market—62×39—16, arched at the top). On a banderole at the centre: *By dese figure men merken mach wat onse vrouwe deede opden Saterdach*. Rather late (about 1500). • Now in the collection of Mrs. Morris Fatman, New York.

56. (Plate 69) *The Resurrection*. Mauritshuis, The Hague (28×23.5). This composition, presumably going back to Dieric, is also used in the centre panel of the Ehningen altarpiece (Stuttgart museum, cf. No. 78, below). If painted by Albert rather than another follower of Dieric, of rather early vintage. • No. 762.

57. (Plates 69-71) *Altarpiece with Shutters*: Centre, *Assumption of the Virgin*; right, the painter and his wife, as donors; left, an elderly man, as donor. Brussels museum, No. 534 (185×107—47, arched at the top). From Tongerlo abbey. Identified as the altarpiece mentioned by Molanus as having been painted by Albert Bouts for

the chapel of the Virgin in St. Peter's, Louvain 1481. On the arms and the dating, cf. p. 38 ff., above.

58. (Plate 72) *Assumption of the Virgin*. Brussels museum, No. 535 (184 × 127, arched at the top). Composition and style similar to No. 57. • 187.5 × 130 cm.

59. (Plate 73) *A Pair of Altarpiece Shutters*: The donor, with St. James; the donor, with St. Catherine 1491. Brussels museum, No. 536 (35 × 26 each). Half-length and bust-length figures. Rather late.

60. (Plate 73) *A Pair of Altarpiece Shutters*: A canon, with St. John the Baptist and St. Barbara 1501; a monk in white cassock, with Sts. Andrew and Catherine; verso, a *Christ Carrying the Cross*, and a *Mater Dolorosa*. Full-length figures. O. Strauss collection, Cologne, formerly von Kaufmann collection, Berlin, auction Nos. 72, 73 (56 × 22.5 each). Exhibited at Bruges in 1902, Nos. 141, 142. From the middle period. • Now in the Provinzialmuseum, Bonn. • Inv. No. 1935/258 and 259.

61. (Plate 74) *Christ as Ruler of the Universe*, frontal face. Privately owned in Paris (Sedelmeyer, inventory catalogue, series X, No. 19—41 × 29, rounded at the top). Bruges exhibition of 1902, No. 238 (de Somzée) 1511.

a. (Plate 74) Bischöfliches Konvikt, Prüm (Eifel). A replica, with a pendant, a *Virgin at Prayer*. • 34.2 × 23.8 cm (Christ); 34.9 × 24 cm (Virgin).

62. (Plate 75) *Christ Crowned with Thorns*, frontal face, tondo. Von Kaufmann collection, Berlin (auction No. 74—diameter, 29). Rather early, in Dieric's manner 1521. • Now in the Nelson Gallery—Atkins Museum (Nelson Fund), Kansas City, Mo.; Acc. No. 40-44/4; diameter: 27 cm.

a. (Plate 75) Antwerp museum (Ertborn collection), No. 250 (diameter, 29). The face, without the neck, against a light ground. Often quite wrongly ascribed to Quentin Massys.

b. Dr. U. Thieme collection, Leipzig. A careful replica, against a dark ground. Several replicas of lesser merit are on the London art market 1531.

63. (Plate 76) *Christ Crowned with Thorns*, bust-length, face half-turned to one side, joined into a diptych with a *Virgin at Prayer* 1541. Suermondt-Museum, Aachen (Dr. Bock collection—45 × 27 each, rounded at the top). Düsseldorf exhibition, 1904, No. 145. Pl. 46 in the publication on this show (Bruckmann). Gold ground, dotted in black. Verso: *The Annunciation*, by a lesser hand 1551.

a. (Plate 77) Vicomte Ruffo collection, Brussels (auction Nos. 10, 11). Christ exhibiting the stigmata with raised hands, the Virgin turned differently from No. 63 (42 × 27 each, rounded at the top). • Now in a private collection, Luxembourg.

b. (Plate 77) Friedsam collection, New York. Christ alone. The head is turned differently from No. 63 (42 × 27, rounded at the top). A. Beurdeley auction, Paris, 1920, No. 138. Done in the robust style particularly characteristic of this master. • Now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, No. 32.100.55; 44.5 × 28.5 cm.

c. Art market, Florence (E. Volpi, 1913). Christ alone, turned as in No. 63, but not showing the hands (34×22).

d. Missing in the original edition.

e. (Plate 77) Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, No. 528A (36×27). Like c. • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem, No. 541.

f. (Plate 77) Städtisches Museum, Würzburg (University No. 286; 33.5×23.5). Christ alone. • Now in the Martin von Wagner-Museum der Universität.

g. Bologna museum. Christ alone. • 35×27 cm.

h. (Plate 77) Czartoryski Museum, Cracow. The Virgin alone, as in a. • Now in the National Museum of Cracow, Czartoryski Collection, Inv. No. V. 117; 40.7×26.6 cm.

i. (Plate 78) Lyons museum (34×22). Christ alone, with upraised hands. Similar to b. • Inv. No. B. 375; 35.5×23.5 cm.

j. Missing in the original edition.

k. G. Koninckx auction, Antwerp, 1901, No. 54 (25×19). Christ alone, similar to b and i, but done considerably later.

l. Hoogendijk collection, Amsterdam. Christ alone, the face as in c, but with upraised hands, as in b and i (24.5×22).

m. Spiridon collection, Paris. Christ alone, not showing the hands. • Subsequently in the Kleinberger Gallery, New York; 34×27 cm.

n. J. Hage collection, Nivaagaard, Denmark. Christ without the crown of thorns, on a panel with a praying Virgin (47×50). The face of Christ is disfigured by restorations. Bruges exhibition, 1902, No. 95.

o. (Plate 78) National Gallery, London, No. 1083 (44×37). Christ alone, in half-length, with upraised hands, against a gold ground hatched in black.

p. (Plate 78) New York Historical Society, No. B. 333 ($18 \times 15-8$). Christ alone, the centrepiece of a triptych, on the shutters angels in full-length, with coats of arms (verso, Sts. Cornelius 1561 and Catherine). • Central panel, 38.1×26.7 cm; shutters, 45.7×14.6 cm.

64. (Plate 79) *Virgin in Full-Length*, standing outdoors, with an angel who offers the child a flower. Worcester Art Museum, Massachusetts (39×27.5). Rather late. • Acc. No. 1917.5.

65. (Plate 79) *Virgin in Full-Length*, seated outdoors. New York art market (Bottenwieser, 1924), formerly in the V. Koch collection, London (35×23). Rather early, unless done by another imitator of Dieric. The Virgin's cloak is turned back at knee-height, a motive frequently used by Dieric's followers as well as by Memlinc (1571). • Now in the Boveri collection, Zurich. • Now in the Hosmer-Pillow Collection, Montreal.

66. *Virgin in Half-Length*, suckling the child. New York art market (Demotte— 59×40). Cf. *Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 45, 1924, p. 56 (where it is erroneously ascribed to Dieric). Reproduced in Vol. 11, Pl. 120, No. 107h. (Cf. p. 40, above.)

67. (Plate 79) *Virgin in Full-Length*, enthroned under a canopy. Dr. Haniel collec-

tion, Düsseldorf, from the von Hollitscher collection, Berlin (25 × 17). A careful replica after Dieric's small Madonna in the Louvre (No. 26, above). • Now in the County Museum of Art (Allan C. Balch collection), Los Angeles, No. L. 2100.44 — 1076.

a. Missing in the original edition.

b. London art market (Spanish Art Gallery). A careful replica, with the addition of a dog, and the figure of the Almighty in the arched gable (25.5 × 18.5 for the Virgin part alone) 1581.

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68. (Plate 80) *The Head of St. John the Baptist*, on a round platter. Oldenburg museum, on a gold ground, hatched in black 1591. • Landesmuseum, No. 270; diameter 30.5 cm.

a. (Plate 80) Bowes museum, Barnard Castle, England (diameter, 29). A replica with slight differences, not as characteristic of the master as No. 68.

b. G. Koninckx auction, Antwerp, 1901, No. 122 (diameter, 28). Exactly like a.

c. (Plate 80) Brussels museum, No. 550 (diameter, 27). Exactly like a. • 28.5 cm.

69. (Plate 81) *St. Augustine*, with a clerical donor and St. John the Baptist. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, No. 540 (61 × 44). Rather early (about 1485). • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

70. (Plate 81) *St. Catherine. Verso, St. John the Evangelist*. (The escutcheon with crossed sceptres is said to be that of the de Gondi family). The left shutter of an altarpiece. Chalandon collection, Paris, previously in the E. Odier auction, 1889, No. 7 (33 × 11). An especially fine work from the middle period.

71. (Plate 82) *St. Christopher*. Modena museum (ca. 30 × 25). Rather early 1601. • Galleria Estense, 42 × 30 cm.

72. (Plate 83) *Sts. Helena and Elizabeth*, in full-length, side by side. Berlin art market (1925). Curved softwood panel, perhaps meant to be mounted on a pillar. • Subsequently on the New York art market (Weitzner). • 69.5 × 41 cm.

73. (Plate 83) *St. Jerome*, outdoors, mortifying his flesh. Brussels museum, No. 348 (41 × 38).

a. Von Kaufmann collection, Berlin, 1917 auction, No. 75 (44 × 41). A rather close replica of equal merit.

CATALOGUE D: PAINTINGS BY THE MASTER OF THE TIBURTINE SIBYL AND BY FOLLOWERS AND IMITATORS OF DIERIC, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF HIS SECOND SON, ARRANGED BY SUBJECT

74. (Plate 84) *The Tiburtine Sibyl and Emperor Augustus*. Städelches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt, No. 97 (69 × 85). A work of the Master of the Tiburtine Sibyl, like the three paintings that follow. (Cf. p. 41, above.) 1611 • Inv. No. 1068.

75. (Plate 85) *Betrothal of the Virgin*. John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia, No. 344 in Valentiner's catalogue of this collection (139×98). (Cf. p. 41, above.)
76. (Plate 86) *The Raising of Lazarus*. San Carlo museum, Mexico (80×40). (Cf. p. 41, above.) • Now in the Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes, Galerías de Pintura y Escultura de San Carlos, Mexico City.
77. (Plate 87) *The Crucifixion*. Crombez collection, Paris (144×103). (Cf. p. 41, above.) • Now on the Paris art market (Seligmann). • Now in the Institute of Arts, Detroit; Acc. No. 41.126; 144×129 cm.
78. (Plate 88) *The Annunciation*. G. Taymans collection, Brussels (41×31). This composition evidently goes back to Dieric Bouts and has been repeatedly copied. A drawing from it in the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett shows both figures (• No. 4053; 205×180 mm; Plate 89), another in the Duval auction (Amsterdam, 1910, No. 225) 1621 only the Virgin (• 214×150 mm; Plate 89). The Swabian Ehningen altarpiece in the Stuttgart museum (Plate 89), which apparently used composition by Dieric in all its parts (cf. No. 56, above) (• 146×161—73 cm; Inv. No. 1125), has an *Annunciation* on the outside of the shutters, which coincides rather closely with that in Brussels. Both are presumably derived from the same model, for the Ehningen altarpiece includes the typical altar niche lacking in the Brussels picture—a niche that occurs repeatedly in Albert's *Annunciations* 1631. The Ehningen altarpiece was a donation by the Archduchess Mechthild of Württemberg (about 1476) and is the work of a South German painter who bears the same relation to Dieric Bouts as Herlin does to Rogier. • The Taymans *Annunciation* is now on the Paris art market (Duveen) • Now in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, Va. (Williams Fund); Acc. No. 55-10; 40×31.1 cm.
79. (Plate 90) *The Annunciation*. Czartoryski museum, Cracow. Modest and timid but in Dieric's style (about 1470). • Now in the National Museum of Cracow Czartoryski Collection, Inv. No. v. 114; 47.8×33 cm.
80. (Plate 90) *The Nativity*. Alph. Kann collection, Paris (40×30). The Virgin and Joseph kneel opposite each other, the child lying between them on the bare stone floor. A simple composition, presumably going back to Dieric. The execution is not very fine, nor the state of preservation perfect, especially in the faces. • Sold with the Alph. Kann collection in New York, 7th January 1927 (American Art Association, No. 51).
- a. (Plate 90) Private ownership in Germany, precise location unknown. A close and better-preserved replica. • Now in the M. van Berg collection, New York; 37.5×30 cm.
81. (Plate 91) *The Adoration of the Kings*. Yerkes collection, New York (1910 auction, No. 6—96×135). A composition expanded in width, somewhat similar to the centrepiece of the Munich triptych. A rather early work by a competent imitator. • Now in the Cincinnati Art Museum (Bequest of Mary M. Emery), Cincinnati, Ohio, No. A 3295; 92.5×132 cm.

82. (Plate 91) *Jesus and St. John the Baptist*. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, No. 533 C (641) (73 × 56). From the Traumann collection, Madrid. A replica of the panel by Dieric in the possession of Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria (No. 22, above), with the addition of a group of men pointing out the Saviour to St. John. The additions are in the style of Hugo van der Goes. Cf. *Amtliche Berichte der Königlichen Museen, Berlin*, Vol. 30, col. 209 ff. • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

83. (Plate 92) *Christ Crowned with Thorns*, in bust-length, with clasped hands. Pendant: *The Virgin, Weeping*, with joined hands. National Gallery, London, Nos. 711, 712 (36 × 27 each). Gilt background hatched in black. This pair were often done in Dieric's workshop 1651.

a. (Plate 92) Louvre, Paris, Nos. 2200, 2201 (38 × 28 each). Close replicas of both panels, of approximately equal merit.

b. Count Czartoryski collection, Goluchov, Poland. Replicas of both panels, of somewhat later date. • Disappeared during World War II (661) 42 × 32 cm.

c. Westenberg... auction, Amsterdam, 1902, Nos. 10, 11 (40 × 27 each); Lutzen... auction, Berlin, 1904, Nos. 73, 74. Later, harsh replicas of both panels.

d. Paris auction of 22nd May, 1914, No. 6 (37 × 28). Later, free replicas of both panels. • Maybe identical with a version exhibited at the Galerie Charpentier, Paris, 1952-1953, No. 94b.

e. Le Roy collection, Paris, identical with Nr. 20 in the Haberthür auction, 1902. Shown in the Bruges exhibition of 1902, No. 365 (van Speybroeck, Bruges). Only the Virgin, similar in style to c. • 37 × 29 cm.

f. (Plate 93) Spiridon collection, Paris. The Virgin alone. • Now in the collection of Baron van der Elst, Vienna 1671 • Now in a private collection, Geneva. 37 × 28 cm.

g. Episcopal palace, Chur (40 × 28). The Virgin alone.

h. (Plate 93) Weisberger collection, Madrid (681), The Virgin alone.

84. (Plate 94) *The Virgin with St. Luke*. Collection of Lord Penrhyn, Penrhyn Castle (110 × 88). Transferred from panel to canvas. A composition influenced by the well-known one of Rogier. Bruges exhibition, 1902, No. 115. The face of the saint may be a portrait of Dieric. An excellent painting, close to Dieric, but a bit coarse and dead in some of its parts, notably the Virgin's face. Cannot be accepted as an original without reservations. • Now in the collection of Lady Janet Douglas Pennant, Penrhyn, Bangor (North Wales).

85. (Plate 95) *Virgin in Full-Length*, seated outdoors. Boveri collection, Baden, Switzerland (25 × 37.5). • Now in the Walter Boveri collection, Zurich; 37.5 × 25 cm.

86. (Plate 95) *Virgin in Full-Length*, seated outdoors before a brocade runner. Stephenson Clarke collection, Hayward's Heath, Sussex (26 × 21). Bruges exhibition, 1902, No. 54. • Now in the collection of Colonel Sir Ralph Clarke, Hayward's Heath, Sussex.

87. (Plate 95) *Virgin in Full-Length*, seated. In the back, a courtyard with flowerbeds, surrounded by buildings, three women in the background. Stephenson Clarke collection, Hayward's Heath, Sussex (36.5 × 24). Bruges exhibition, 1902, No. 43.

• Now in the collection of Colonel Sir Ralph Clarke, Hayward's Heath, Sussex.

a. (Plate 95) Cathedral, Litomerice, Czechoslovakia (said to be dated 1498-1691).

A close replica. • Has disappeared since World War II; ca. 38 × 26 cm.

88. (Plate 96) *Virgin in Full-Length*, seated. In the back, a courtyard with flowerbeds. London art market (Spanish Art Gallery, 1920). The locale is similar to that in No. 87, but the figures have other postures. The posture of the child leaning through the Virgin's prayer book is taken over by the Master of the Legend of St. Lucy in a painting that reached the Paris art market from Florence (1701).

89. (Plate 96) *Virgin in Full-Length*, seated outdoors before a brocade runner. O. Gutekunst collection, London (ca. 35 × 25). An excellent work, very close to Dieric. • Now in the B. S. Barlow collection, Great Britain; 34 × 26 cm.

90. (Plate 96) *Virgin in Full-Length*, standing, outdoors, before a brocade runner. J. Böhler collection, Munich (28.5 × 20). Very fine, very close to Dieric, very similar to No. 87. In the robe, a defect in the paint layer has been clumsily restored (1711). • Now in the Schloss Rohoncz Collection (Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza), Lugano. • No. 50; 28.5 × 20 cm.

91. (Plate 96) *Virgin in Full-Length*, seated in a chamber, an angel to the right and left. Capilla Real, Granada. Reproduced in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, October 1908. A cruder replica of this Virgin is ascribed to Albert Bouts (No. 65, above). Probably done about 1480 in Bruges. • 86.9 × 65.6 cm.

a. Private collection, Lucca. A replica of the entire composition (reproduced in Reinach, *Répertoire de Peintures*, Vol. I, p. 182). Probably identical with a painting, the centrepiece of a triptych, by the Bruges Master of the Legend of St. Lucy (reproduced in Sedelmeyer's inventory catalog of 1900, No. 14) (1721). • In the Heugel collection, Paris; 80 × 68 (—29) cm (Vol. VI, No. 140).

92. (Plate 97) *Virgin in Half-Length*. Antwerp museum (Ertborn collection), No. 28 (29.5 × 20.5). Entirely in Dieric's style, possibly not quite subtle enough. Cf. p. 29, above.)

93. (Plate 97) *Virgin in Half-Length*, with a landscape background. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, No. 545C (28 × 19.5). Entirely in Dieric's style. The landscape, with its many straight lines, is somewhat dry. (Cf. p. 29, above.) (1731) • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

a. (Plate 97) Sigmaringen museum, No. 38 (28 × 20). A weaker replica. • Now in the Jack Linsky collection, New York.

b. (Plate 97) Louvre, Paris. A crude replica with hatched gilt ground. • Inv. No. R.F. 1732; 35.8 × 22.9 cm.

c. Freiherr von Tucher collection, Munich. A replica by the hand of the Bruges

Master of the Legend of St. Lucy (reproduced in *Münchener Jahrbuch*, 1910, Half-Vol. 2, p. 15) (1741). • Now in the Museum of Arts, Baltimore, Md.; 32.3 × 21.7 cm.

d. (Plate 97) Dollfus auction, Paris, 1912, No. 84. A replica by an imitator, with slight changes. • 34.5 × 24 cm.

94. (Plate 98) *Virgin in Half-Length*, with a landscape. Count Pourtalès collection, St. Petersburg (probably destroyed—25 × 20). An extraordinarily fine work, similar in composition to the Frankfurt Madonna (No. 15, above), and formerly considered by me an original work by Dieric. A few uncharacteristic features, especially the shape of the excellently elaborated hand, with its upbent fingertips, militate against Dieric's authorship. Resemblances to the panel (No. 45, above) tentatively given to Albert Bouts suggest that this Madonna too may be an early work by Albert. • Later in the Comte de Pourtalès collection, Paris.

95. (Plate 98) *Virgin in Half-Length*, with bare bosom. Engel-Gros auction, Paris, 1921, No. 3 (32 × 19). Bruges exhibition, 1902, No. 94 (Baron d'Albénas, Montpellier). The composition is closely related to Dieric's Salting Madonna (No. 14, above). • Now in the United States?

a. (Plate 98) Sigmaringen museum, No. 29 (29 × 21). A close replica, also with a brocade runner. Strange decorative chains on the Virgin's forehead and the child's neck (1751). • Now in the Bache collection, New York. • Now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Jules S. Bache collection, New York, No. 44.23.18.

96. (Plate 99) *Virgin in Half-Length*, seen frontally, holding the child with both hands, as he plays with a rosary. Amsterdam art market (Goudstikker, 1920). Previously in the Duschnitz collection, Vienna (34 × 22.5). Very close to the master himself. • Sold at the G.D. Pratt auction, Parke-Bernet, New York, on 31st October 1942, No. 123. Now in a private collection, Geneva.

a. (Plate 99) Glyptothek, Copenhagen. A close replica of approximately equal merit, the Virgin's face a bit softer. • Inv. No. 255; 42.5 × 27.5 cm.

b. (Plate 99) Haro auction, Paris, 1911, No. 117 (33 × 27). A replica in a different style, with a landscape background. • Sold at the Chiesa auction, New York, on 27th November 1927, No. 33.

97. (Plate 100) *St. Christopher*, striding through the water with the infant Jesus. John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia (No. 342 in Vol. 2 of the catalogue of this collection—26 × 19). This excellent work, catalogued by Valentiner as an Albert Bouts, seems to me to transcend the skill of that painter and merit consideration as a work by Dieric.

98. (Plate 100) *St. Jerome*, kneeling outdoors. Rud. Brockhaus collection, Leipzig (35.5 × 22, rounded at the top). Of great subtlety in the execution, in Dieric's manner. • In 1929, in a private collection, Leipzig; present location unknown; 37.5 × 23.3 cm.

CATALOGUE E: PAINTINGS MENTIONED IN THE
SECTION ON JOOS VAN GENT¹

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99. (Plate 101) *Communion of the Apostles*. The palace at Urbino (331 × 335.) Done in 1473 and 1474 for the confraternity Corpus Domini in Urbino (the accompanying predella was done by Paolo Uccello 1761). (Cf. p. 44 ff., above.) • Inv. No. 700, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche; 283.3 × 303.5 cm.

a. (Plate 105) Palace at Urbino, a partial copy, Jesus in half-length (111 × 89), ascribed to Giovanni Santi, apparently correctly. Reproduced in Venturi, *loc. cit.*, p. 133. • Inv. No. 10, Galleria Nazionale della Marche; 109 × 87.6 cm.

100. (Plates 102-104) *Altarpiece with Shutters: Centre, The Crucifixion*; shutters, deeds of Moses 1771. St. Bavo's, Ghent (ca. 250 cm wide overall). Done in Ghent by Joos about 1465. Cf. Winkler, *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*, 1916, p. 321 ff., which also has a reproduction. (Cf. p. 47, above.) • 216 × 170—80.7 cm.

101. (Plate 105) *Adoration of the Kings*. George Blumenthal collection, New York (canvas, 108 × 158). From Spain. Painted about 1466 in Ghent. (Cf. p. 47-48, above 1781.) • Now in New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 41.190.21 (George Blumenthal Bequest).

102. (Plate 105) *Adoration of the Kings*. Private collection, Paris, formerly E. Odier collection (1889 auction, No. 1; 65 × 72). Very close to the Ghent master, possible a youthful work by his hand. (Cf. p. 49, above.) • Later in the Ocampo collection, Paris.

103. (Plates 106-115) *The 28 Portraits of Authors*: 14 in the Palazzo Barberini, Rome, 14 in the Louvre, Paris, cf. p. 49 ff., above, where the subjects and dimensions of the panels are listed (79). They are all reproduced in Venturi, *loc. cit.*, p. 135 ff. • When the Barberini collection was recently dispersed, the 'author' paintings reverted to the palace at Urbino. • (1934).

104. (Plate 116) *Portrait of Federico da Montefeltre with His Son*. Palazzo Barberini, Rome (135 × 79). Probably painted about 1476 for the Studio dei Ritratti. (Cf. p. 50 ff., above.) • Brought back to the Palazzo ducale at Urbino in 1934, with the 14 portraits mentioned above; 134.4 × 75.6 cm.

105. (Plates 118-121) *The Seven Liberal Arts*: two in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, Nos. 54, 54a, two in the National Gallery, London, Nos. 755, 756. Cf. p. 54 ff., above, where the dimensions are given, together with the inscriptions. Done about 1476 for a chamber in the palace at Urbino 1801. • The two paintings in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum were destroyed during the siege of Berlin in 1945.

106. (Plate 117) *Federigo da Montefeltre with His Son and Three Confidants*, in a hall. Royal Castle, Windsor, England (90 × 180). Reproduced in Venturi, *loc. cit.*, p. 159. Probably done about 1476, for a chamber in the palace at Urbino. • Now on exhibition at Hampton Court; Inv. No. 1418; 128.3 × 211.7 cm.

1. M. H. Bernath (*American Journal of Archaeology*, second series, Vol. 14, 1910, pp. 331 ff., 450 ff.) has wrongly attributed several pictures as well as a tapestry in the Boston museum to the Ghent master. Venturi (*Storia dell'Arte Italiana*, Vol. 7, 2, p. 169) gives the master the half-length figure of St. Mark in the Städelisches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt (No. 18, 'Bonsignori'), but not at all convincingly.

SUPPLEMENT TO THE CATALOGUES

DIERIC BOUTS

Supp. 107. (Plate 18) *Virgin and Child*. In half-length (23×15). Vienna, collection of Baron van der Elst. • Now in a private collection, Geneva.

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Supp. 108. (Plate 122) *Crucifixion*. A large composition, with many figures. London art market (Clark). On canvas, much darkened by age 1811. • Later in a private collection, Bergamo. Present location unknown; 181.5×153.5 cm.

Supp. 109. (Plate 122) *Christ*. In bust-length, with light gloriolate. Berlin, Rosner collection. Possibly a fragment from a *Last Judgment* 1821. • Now in the collection of Dr. Heinrich Becker, Dortmund; 22.5×19.5 cm.

ALBERT BOUTS

Supp. 110. (Plate 123) *Two Altarpiece Shutters. Baptism of Christ; Christ and the Woman of Samaria*. Brussels art market (1928). • Now in the collection of Mme. Anna Abegg-Stockar, Zurich; 83.5×28 cm.

Supp. 111. (Plate 123) *Lamentation*. Provinzialmuseum, Bonn (No. 24; 78×55). • Was on loan from the Berlin Museum, No. 536, and went back to the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in 1935. Now in the Bode-Museum, Berlin (East), No. 536.

Supp. 112. (Plate 123) *St. Peter and a Donor*. H.B.-M. collection, Basle (30×17.5). • Now in the Wocher collection, Basle.

Supp. 113. (Plate 124) *Virgin and Child with St. Anne* 1831. London art market (Matthiesen, 1937; 71×57). • Now in the Honolulu Academy of Arts, Honolulu, No. 490.225.1.

FOLLOWER OF DIERIC BOUTS

Supp. 114. (Plate 124) *Virgin and Child with St. Anne*. In full-length, on a grassy ledge. Vienna, collection of Baron van der Elst, (auctioned in Berlin in 1939) (37×23). By an excellent follower of Dieric, probably the Master of the Tiburtine Sibyl. • Now in a private collection, Geneva.

(from Volume XIV)

● Add. 115. (Plate 125) *Virgin and Child, in Half-Length*. Geneva, private collection, 26×19.6 cm. Dieric Bouts, cf. No. 9. To be published in the *Bulletin des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, xvii, 1968.

● Add. 116. (Plate 122) *The Resurrection of Christ*. London, in the possession of the art dealer Matthiesen, ca. 1946 (Where now?). On canvas. Dieric Bouts (?). May have belonged to the same ensemble as No. 3 and Supp. 108. Three other paintings on canvas, once with No. 3 in the Guicciardi collection in Milan, an *Annunciation*, a *Presentation* and an *Adoration of the Kings*, may have had the same origin. No traces of these paintings have been found. See F. Baudouin, *Dieric Bouts. Palais des Beaux-Arts, Bruxelles—Museum Prinsenhof, Delft, 1957–1958*, Brussels, 1957, p. 20. See also Note 81.

● Add. 117. (Plate 51) *Portrait of a Man* (silverpoint drawing). Northampton, Massachusetts, Smith College Museum of Art, 136×105 mm. Dieric Bouts (attributed to). Cf. A. E. Popham, *Drawings of the Early Flemish School*, London, 1926, p. 24, No. 17, and W. Schöne, *Dieric Bouts und seine Schule*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1938, p. 88, No. 7.

● Add. 118. (Plate 126) *The Last Judgment*. Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek, No. 1379 (reserves); 108×173 cm, on canvas. Copy after Dieric Bouts, see Nos. 30 and 31. W. Schöne, *Dieric Bouts...*, p. 98, No. 10c, and A. Chatelet, 'Sur un Jugement Dernier de Dieric Bouts', in *Nederlandsch Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, xvi, 1965, p. 22 and Fig. 3.

○ Add. 119. (Plate 74) *Portrait of Christ (Vera Effigies)*. Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, No. 2442; 33×24 cm. Dieric Bouts, the best version of composition No. 61. Cf. M. J. Friedländer, 'De Kersttentoonstelling in Museum Boymans te Rotterdam', in *Maandblad voor Beeldende Kunsten*, xvii, 1940, p. 37 (ill.), and D. Hannema, *Catalogue of the D. G. van Beuningen Collection (Foreword by Dr. M. J. Friedländer)*, Rotterdam, 1949, p. 19, No. 8.

● Add. 120. (Plate 74) *Portrait of Christ (Vera Effigies)*. Madrid, collection of the Duque del Infantado, 28×19 cm. After Dieric Bouts, by Albert Bouts, see No. 61. Cf. W. Schöne, *Dieric Bouts...*, p. 128, No. 18 d.

● Add. 121. (Plate 89) *Fragment with Book-shelf, Ewer and Basin* (from an *Annunciation?*). Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, No. 2469; 24×21 cm. After Dieric Bouts (1? See No. 78). On a panel forming the verso of a *Virgin and Child*, after Rogier van der Weyden, by another, weaker, hand. Cf. W. Schöne, *Dieric Bouts...*, p. 217, No. 152.

● Add. 122. (Plate 126) *St. Joseph Drawing Water, Fragment of a Rest During the Flight into Egypt*. Lulworth Manor, Wareham (Dorset), collection of Colonel

J. Weld, 26×20.5 cm. Albert Bouts. See the catalogue of the exhibition *L'Art Flamand dans les Collections Britanniques. Musée communal Groeninge—Bruges. Août—Septembre 1956*, Brussels, 1956, p. 27, No. 16. A pen-and-ink drawing with a *Rest During the Flight into Egypt* (Plate 126) shows the entire composition. Bayonne, Musée Bonnat, No. 78; 290×210 mm. Cf. W. Schöne, *Dieric Bouts...*, p. 188, No. 78 (Pl. 87b).

● Add. 123. (Plate 128) *St. John the Baptist*; reverse in grisaille: *Instruments of the Passion* (shutter from an altarpiece, damaged). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, No. 6976; 35×13 cm. Albert Bouts. Cf. W. Schöne, *Dieric Bouts...*, p. 207, No. 129.

● Add. 124. Three panels with scenes from the Passion: *Christ Falls under the Cross*, *Christ Nailed to the Cross* (?), *The Erection of the Cross*. Private collection, in a place on Lake Constance. Albert Bouts. May belong to the same ensemble as No. 53. Cf. W. Schöne, *Dieric Bouts...*, p. 194, No. 95.

● Add. 125. (Plate 75) *Head of Christ Crowned with Thorns*. Berlin, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen (Berlin-Dahlem), No. 553; tondo, diam. 28 cm. Albert Bouts, see No. 62. Cf. W. Schöne, *Dieric Bouts...*, p. 201, No. 109b.

● Add. 126. (Plate 78) *Head of Christ Crowned with Thorns*. Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts, No. 36; 37×28 cm. Albert Bouts, see No. 63. On the reverse, a damaged version of No. 61. Cf. W. Schöne, *Dieric Bouts...*, p. 198, No. 107.20.

● Add. 127. (Plate 78) *Christ Crowned with Thorns, in Half-Length*. Brussels, Abbey Church of Notre-Dame de la Cambre (Gift of Mme Joly), 45.2×30.3 cm. Albert Bouts, see No. 63. Cf. W. Schöne, *Dieric Bouts...*, p. 198, No. 107.23.

● Add. 128. (Plate 80) *The Head of St. John the Baptist, on a Round Platter*. Warsaw, Muzeum Narodowe, Inv. No. 158.667; diam. 30.8 cm. Albert Bouts (?! see No. 68). Cf. J. Białostocki, 'Les Musées de Pologne. Gdańsk, Kraków, Warszawa' (*Corpus de la Peinture des Anciens Pays-Bas Méridionaux au Quinzième Siècle*, 9), Brussels, 1966, pp. 21-25, No. 115.

● Add. 129. (Plates 54 and 55) *The Offering of the Jews*. Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, No. 2349; 69.5×51.5 cm. With reverse, in grisaille, *St. Peter. Christ on the Cross*. Saint-Germain-en-Laye, private collection. 70×54 cm. Master of the Gathering of the Manna, ca. 1470; both panels belong to the same altarpiece as No. 37. Published by K. G. Boon, 'Een Hollands Altaar van omstreeks 1470', in *Oud-Holland*, VI, 1950, pp. 207-215. See also E. Haverkamp-Begemann, 'Een Noord-Nederlandse Primitief', in *Bulletin Museum Boymans Rotterdam*, 11 (No. 3), 1951, pp. 49-57.

○ Add. 130. (Plate 55) *The Healing of the Blind Man in Jericho*. Blaricum (Netherlands), Mr. and Mrs. Kleiweg de Zwaan—Vellema collection; 90×75 cm. Master

of the Gathering of the Manna, ca. 1470. Cf. Add. 129. Listed by Friedländer among the supplements to the Anonymous Dutch Masters included in Vol. v (See Vol. xiv, p. 97 of the German edition). See also *150 Jaar Rijksmuseum Jubileumtentoonstelling. Middeleeuwse Kunst der Noordelijke Nederlanden*, Amsterdam, 1958, p. 44, No. 10.

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• Add. 131. (Plate 128) *The Resurrected Christ Appearing to St. Peter* (Joh. xxi, 2-19); reverse, grisaille, the lower half of the figure of St. Nicholas (?). Louvain, Museum Vander Kelen-Mertens, No. 33; 68.5 × 53.5 cm. Jan Rombauts, part of the altarpiece of St. Peter on the high-altar of the collegiate church of St. Peter in Louvain; documented. Cf. W. Schöne, *Dieric Bouts...*, pp. 151-152, No. 31.

• Add. 132. (Plate 127) *Crucifixion with Saints and Donors*. Madrid, Herreros de Tejada collection, 122 × 134 cm. Attributed to Joos van Gent. Published by H. Pauwels, 'Een Kruisiging met Stichters van Joos van Wassenhove', in *Revue Belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art*, xxviii, 1959, pp. 43-51.

As in the case of Rogier van der Weyden (cf. Vol. II, pp. 93-94), some compositions by Dieric Bouts, although a smaller number, have been copied and used a number of times. It may be useful to point out the principal cases, together with a few that can be traced back to Albert Bouts, in the absence of proof that they originated from his father.

No. 4, *Lamentation*, Louvre (Dieric, some)

No. 16, *Jesus in the House of Simon*, Berlin-Dahlem (Dieric, a few); see also No. 47

No. 25, *Nativity*, fragments in the Louvre and in Berlin-Dahlem (Dieric, a few, rather late and of poor quality)

No. 44, *Annunciation*, Munich, Pinakothek (Albert, a few)

No. 61, *Christ as Ruler of the Universe*, Paris, Sedelmayer auction (Albert, a few); see also Add. 119 and 120

No. 62, *Christ Crowned with Thorns*, tondo, Kansas City (Albert, a few); see also Add. 125

No. 63, *Christ Crowned with Thorns and the Virgin Weeping*, Aachen, Suermondt Museum (Albert, numerous); see also Add. 126 and 127

No. 68, *Head of St. John the Baptist, on a Round Platter*, Oldenburg (Albert, some); see also Add. 128

No. 80, *Nativity*, Kann collection, Paris (after Dieric, some)

No. 83, *Christ Crowned with Thorns and the Virgin Weeping*, National Gallery, London (after Dieric, quite numerous)

No. 93, *Virgin in Half-Length, the Child Playing with his Toes*, Berlin-Dahlem (after Dieric, numerous).

The reader will find recent bibliographical data on Dieric Bouts in the article by Baudouin in the Belgian *Nationaal Biographisch Woordenboek* 1841.

A year following publication of Volume XIV of *Die Altniederländische Malerei* with its supplements, Friedländer wrote an article in which he dwelt on the influence of Bouts on the development of the art of Quentin Massys (1851). In certain respects, Friedländer seems to appreciate Bouts' personality more than he did in his Volume III; he praised, among other things, Bouts's profound artistic integrity. That same year a monumental monograph was issued—a doctoral dissertation—by Schöne, on Dieric Bouts and his school (1861). This book includes not only comprehensive catalogues (1871) and a careful analysis of each work of the painters concerned, with reconstitutions of numerous lost works based on copies, drawings and engravings, but also offers a complete historical documentation with all the known archival texts and literary sources given *in extenso*. Schöne chose to limit himself to Bouts's workshop and to his successors in the city of Louvain; and this, of course, excludes Ouwater and the Master of the Tiburtine Sibyl; but within this workshop Schöne, on the basis of stylistic criticism, discriminates between four principal 'hands': the *Hauptmeister* Dieric Bouts the Elder, a second important painter whom he calls the Master of the Munich *Taking of Christ*, and Dieric Bouts's two sons, Dieric the Younger and Albert.

Schöne retains only 14 of the 36 works given by Friedländer as originals of Dieric Bouts the Elder (1881). He proposes the following chronological order:

1. The altarpiece of the Virgin, Madrid (Fr. No. 1)
2. The *Virgin and Child*, New York (Fr. No. 9a)
3. The altarpiece of the Passion, Granada (Fr. No. 2a)
4. The *Entombment*, London (Fr. No. 3)
5. The triptych of St. Erasmus, Louvain (Fr. No. 8)
6. *Portrait of a Man*, 1462, London (Fr. No. 12)
7. *Portrait of a Man*, drawing, Northampton, Massachusetts (missing in Fr.; Add. 117)
8. The altarpiece of the Holy Sacrament, Louvain (Fr. No. 18)
9. The *Virgin and Child*, London (Salting Bequest; Fr. No. 14)
10. The *Road to Heaven* and the *Descent of the Damned*, Lille (Fr. Nos. 30 and 31)
- 10A. A fragment with *Christ in Bust-Length*, Dortmund (Fr. Supp. 109)
11. *Ecce Agnus Dei*, Munich (Fr. No. 22)
12. *Portrait of a Man*, New York (Fr. No. 32)
13. The *Justice of Emperor Otto*, Brussels (Fr. No. 33)

The remaining works Schöne gives to the Master of the Munich *Taking of Christ* and the Master of the *Pearl of Brabant*, the latter identified with Dieric the Younger. To the former Schöne attributes a dozen original works, grouped around the two shutters in the Munich Pinakothek, the *Taking of Christ* and the *Resurrection* (Fr. No. 20) (1891). To Dieric the Younger he gives about ten works

with somewhat more sophisticated and refined characteristics, grouped around the triptych of the *Adoration of the Magi*, called the *Pearl of Brabant*, also in Munich (Fr. No. 24) (1901). To Albert Bouts, he gives a long list of paintings (191) most of which correspond with those of Friedländer's catalogue of this painter. There is indeed little matter for discussion here. Albert's style is defined with reasonable certitude in his triptych of the *Assumption of the Virgin* in Brussels (Fr. No. 57) (1921). Schöne proposes also another and more independent master, whom he calls the Master of the Rotterdam *St. John on Patmos*, and to whom he gives a few paintings, including the *St. John on Patmos*, that Friedländer had counted among Dieric Bouts's original works (Fr. No. 6) (1931). Lastly Schöne considers some Louvain painters who followed in Bouts's footsteps, such as Jan Rombauts, who did the altarpiece of St. Peter for the high altar of the collegiate church in Louvain (1941).

These subdivisions within Bouts's workshop are not entirely new, particularly the identification of Dieric the Younger with the Master of the *Pearl of Brabant*. Heiland had proposed such a master as early as 1902 (1951). Voll held the same opinion (1961). We are indeed aware of Friedländer's reactions to this division. Commenting on the separation from Bouts's work of the *Pearl of Brabant* and the paintings related to it, Friedländer expressed himself most vividly: 'a basic fallacy' (197) and 'an irresponsible folly' (198) are his words. As for a Master of the *St. John on Patmos*, Friedländer included this painting among Bouts's original works, only with some hesitation, saying: 'I am inclined to accept the panel' (199) (Editor's emphasis).

Schöne's propositions failed to provoke the kind of vehement discussion that attended the controversies over Hubert and Jan van Eyck, or Rogier van der Weyden, the Master of Flémalle and Robert Campin. This is, first of all, because the work of Dieric Bouts is not considered quite as important as that of his illustrious predecessors. Furthermore, at the time Schöne's book was published, these other controversies were at their peak and they seem to have somewhat thrown into shadow the audacity of Schöne's theories. Let us remember also that the second World War broke out only two years later. Nevertheless, in Bouts's case contradictory opinions persist, in the absence of irrefutable arguments. In 1940, Baldass accepted the group 'Master of the *Pearl of Brabant*' as separate from Bouts's work, but he disputed the identification of this master with Dieric the Younger, nor did he accept the group 'Master of the Munich *Taking of Christ*' (100). Later, Baldass reverted to the case of the two *Doppelgänger* of Dieric Bouts and took a more hesitant stand (101). In 1953, Panofsky tended to accept Schöne's divisions (102) and so did Chatelet in 1965, confirming Schöne's proposal regarding the *Pearl of Brabant* and suggesting that the Master of the *Taking of Christ* was a Dutchman (103). The catalogues of the Munich Pinakothek—the museum that owns both the *Taking of Christ* and the *Pearl of Brabant*—admit the attribution of the latter triptych to Dieric the Younger but keep the *Taking of Christ* and the *Resurrection* under the name of Dieric the Elder (104). The grouping by Schöne of a number of works around the *Taking of Christ* seems also to be accepted by Eisler (105), while the monograph on Dieric Bouts by Denis eliminates from the father's work both the *Pearl of Brabant* and the two wings in Munich (106).

Many art historians protested against the divisions within Bouts's workshop, or

simply ignored them. The second volume of Hoogewerff's important publication, in which Bouts is discussed, appeared in 1937, before Schöne's theories were published. Hoogewerff here supports the side of unity (1107). Let us cite also Lavalleye (1108), Baudouin (1109), Gerson (1110), Boon, who explicitly preferred 'Friedländer's more consistent conception of Bouts' (1111), Winkler (1112), van Puyvelde (1113), Schretlen (1114), Michel (1115), Ninane (1116), Davies (1117) and others.

The Dieric Bouts exhibition held in Brussels and Delft in 1957-1958 displayed a number of works by this artist and his school. These works were discussed in the catalogue, the section on the paintings being written by Baudouin, the section on the drawings and engravings by Boon (1118). Both authors, upon viewing the exhibition, felt the need to write again on many of the works (1119). Other critics have also written on this exhibition, among them Winkler (1120).

Some works were studied on the occasion of their conservation treatment. Such was the case with the *Justice of Emperor Otto* (No. 33). Van Molle (and others) (1121), Ninane (1122), Sulzberger (1123), Philippot (1124), all wrote about it. This is also true of the altarpiece of the *Holy Sacrament* (No. 18), studied by Coremans, Gettens and Thissen (1125) and by Lefève and Van Molle (1126). This altarpiece has also been studied, apart from questions of technique, by Hammacher (1127), Muls (1128), van Gelder (1129) and Francotte (1130) among others. Chatelet questions that the two panels in Lille, the *Road to Heaven* and the *Fall of the Damned* (Nos. 30 and 31), are the wings of an altarpiece of the *Last Judgment* from the Town Hall in Louvain, now lost. This was rather suspected by Friedländer as well (1131). Chatelet believes the two panels formed a diptych on the theme of the *Judgment of the Individual Man at Death* (1132). Folie examined the question of whether the *Justice of Emperor Otto*, the altarpiece of the *Holy Sacrament* and the panels in Lille can be considered basic works by Bouts authenticated by documents (1133). Panofsky studied the iconography of the Boutsian type of *Ecce Homo* and its origins (1134). Baudouin studied the *Ecce Agnus Dei* in Munich (No. 22) (1135) and the *Coronation of the Virgin* in Vienna (No. 19) (1136), again from the point of view of iconography. The paintings belonging to the 'Bouts Group' preserved in the National Gallery, London, the museums of New England, the Louvre, the Capilla Real, Granada, the Hermitage, and the museums of Poland have received a complete dossier in the *Corpus des Primitifs Flamands*. These commentaries were written, respectively, by Davies (1137), Eisler (1138), Adhémar (1139), Van Schoute (1140), Loewinson-Lessing and Nicouline (1141), and Białostocki (1142). It should be especially noted that the paintings in Granada, and particularly the important triptych of the *Descent from the Cross* (No. 2a), hitherto little known, have been published by Van Schoute with abundant documentation and photographic details; and that the infrared photograph of the *Virgin and Child* in the Fogg Art Museum (No. 11) revealed underneath the paint layer a surprising preparatory drawing of a female nude, thought by Eisler to be for an Eve or a Vanitas (1143), but believed by Held to be a study of a nude for its own sake (1144). The drawing of a *Portrait of a Man* in Smith College (Add. 117), which Schöne thought was the only original drawing attributable to Dieric Bouts (1145), while Panofsky regards it as the work of a follower (1146), has been at different times proposed by Vorenkamp as an original (1147), a contention with which Winkler agreed (1148).

Dieric Bouts's personality, more introverted and less brilliant than that of the founders of the Flemish school of painting, has, nevertheless, attracted writers who have sought to define it and bring forward its qualities. While Panofsky holds that 'Dieric Bouts' mature and late works...in this respect [movement] may be said to show Western art at its maximum distance from classical antiquity' (149), van der Elst insisted on its spiritual significance (150). Philippot expounded the characteristics of Bouts's style, as they now, upon cleaning, clearly appear in the one entirely original panel of the *Justice of Emperor Otto* (No. 33) (151). Baudouin showed the influence of the *Devotio moderna* on Bouts's art, especially the spirituality of the *Imitatio Christi* by Thomas à Kempis which is reflected not only in some of Bouts's subject matter but also in the meaning of his deeply felt art (152).

ALBERT BOUTS

A recent bibliography on Albert Bouts may be found in the article by Baudouin on this master in the Belgian *Nationaal Biographisch Woordenboek* (153). Schöne wrote exhaustively and analytically about Albert Bouts in 1938 (154). Some paintings by Albert were displayed at the Dieric Bouts exhibition in 1957-1958 (155), among them his basic work, the triptych of the *Assumption of the Virgin*, from the museum in Brussels, where it is catalogued under Nos. 51-53 (Fr. No. 57). This triptych has been discussed by Staring (156) and Wéra (157). It has also been commented on by Folie as an authenticated basic work, together with the *Annunciations* in Munich and in Berlin/Stockholm (Nos. 44 and 44b). This author finds the case for the *Annunciations* less certain than that of the *Assumption* triptych (158). The latter altarpiece was restored in Brussels in 1953 and an important overpainting on the central panel was identified and removed; an account of this was published by Sneyers and Thissen (159). Evidence that an altarpiece, now lost, was ordered in 1504 from Albert Bouts by the Confraternity of the Holy Cross in the cathedral of Antwerp, was published by van den Nieuwenhuizen (160). Panofsky analyzed the iconography, especially the origins and the different types, of the *Ecce Homo* produced by Albert and his workshop, in a discussion of the painting by Jean Hey in the Brussels museum (161).

ALBERT VAN OUWATER

Albert van Ouwater has remained a rather mysterious painter whose style is defined solely in the *Raising of Lazarus* in Berlin (No. 34), if one accepts this as the painting described by Carel van Mander (see p. 34). In 1937, Hoogewerff took up his case (162), to be followed in 1938 by Schöne (163). A year later, Valentiner identified this painter with the Master of the Tiburtine Sibyl (164). This identification was accepted by Schretlen in 1946 (165). Wehle and Salinger discussed van Ouwater, attributing to him the *Raising of Lazarus* and, probably, the four scenes of the *Life of the Virgin* in the Prado (No. 1) (166). Boon (167), Panofsky (168), the author of the catalogue of the exhibition in Amsterdam in 1958 (169), and, recently, Gerson (170) continue to accept van Ouwater as the painter of the *Raising of Lazarus*, but not as the Master of the Tiburtine Sibyl—or as the 'Hand G'

in the Milan-Turin Book of Hours, as proposed by Tolnay, among others 11711. In 1960, Chatelet gave to the painter of the *Raising of Lazarus*—whom he too believes to be van Ouwater—two shutters representing *St. John the Baptist* and *St. Michael*, kept in the Capilla Real in Granada 11721. Snyder has recently studied the role and personality of van Ouwater 11731.

ANONYMOUS DUTCH MASTERS

An interesting discovery of parts of an altarpiece painted in the northern Netherlands around 1470 has been made by Boon 11741 and discussed by Haverkamp-Begemann 11751. Around the *Gathering of the Manna* in Douai, known to Friedländer (No. 37), they assembled an *Offering of the Jews*, in Rotterdam (Add. 129a) and a *Crucifixion* in Saint-Germain-en-Laye (Add. 129b). The latter author calls this painter the Master of the *Gathering of the Manna* and attributes to him also the *Healing of the Blind Man in Jericho*, in Blaricum (Add. 130). This group of paintings shows the master as a typical Dutch painter of the time; elements of his style can be compared with the art of van Ouwater, Petrus Christus, Dieric Bouts in his youth, Bosch, and Gerard David in his youth. These works, the *Crucifixion* excepted, were on exhibition in Amsterdam in 1958 11761. The rôle of Dutch book illumination, which Friedländer does not think very important (see p. 15), has been supported by Delaissé 11771.

MASTER OF THE TIBURTINE SIBYL

The Master of the Tiburtine Sibyl, it should be remembered, had been tentatively identified by Gluck in 1931 as Dieric Bouts the Younger 11781. This author attributed to him the same four panels as did Friedländer in his catalogue (see p. 69f.), plus No. 87 and Supp. No. 114. In his Volume XIV, Friedländer refrained from discussing this hypothesis but simply added Supp. No. 114 to his list of works attributed to the 'Followers of Dieric', with the comment: 'By an excellent follower of Dieric, probably the Master of the Tiburtine Sibyl' (see p. 75). In 1937, Hoogewerff followed the grouping first proposed by Friedländer 11791; but in 1943, Valentiner proposed another identification, Albert van Ouwater 11801. In 1947, Boon came back to Friedländer's grouping 11811. In the last volume of Thieme and Becker's dictionary of artists, devoted to masters with makeshift names, the anonymous author of the article on the Master of the Tiburtine Sibyl takes up the question once more 11821. The *Crucifixion* in Detroit (No. 77) and the *Raising of Lazarus* in Mexico City (No. 76) were on exhibition in Amsterdam in 1958, and were discussed in the catalogue 11831, listed under Nos. 12 and 13.

SCHOOL OF DIERIC BOUTS

A number of paintings from the school of Bouts were shown at the Dieric Bouts exhibition in Brussels and Delft in 1957-1958, together with drawings and engravings and also a few paintings by masters foreign to the Low Countries but showing the influence of the style of Bouts, for example the altarpiece from Ehningen (see

p. 66, under No. 56, and p. 70, under No. 78) (1841). Stange has shown the influence of Bouts on certain German painters, among whom are Heinrich Funhof, the Master of the *Life of the Virgin* and the Master of the *Passion of Lyversberg* (1851).

JOOS VAN GENT

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In Joos van Gent we encounter once more one of those complicated problems typical of the history of Flemish painting in the 15th century. Was he a single painter, working with or without assistants? Or does the work of two or more painters go under this name? Here not only is Flemish painting involved, but Italian and Spanish painting as well. This unique conjunction, occurring at the time of the Renaissance and of Humanism, has rightly fascinated art historians. Once more opinions on authorship have clashed. Of course, the notion of collaboration and workshop production takes on a totally different aspect to 20th century eyes from what it had for the 15th century (1861), and this fact lies at the root of some of these somewhat bitter discussions. Their objectivity seems at times to be swayed by the nationality of the protagonists. Impartial, Friedländer in 1925 devoted some remarkable pages to Joos van Gent. In 1937, he thoroughly approved of Lavalleye's thesis, which on the whole sustained his own views (1871). Much has since been written on the question, particularly on Pedro Berruguete's possible collaboration—if not his completion of the project in Urbino. The reader will find recent bibliographical data in the catalogue of the exhibition on Joos van Gent, Berruguete and the Court at Urbino held in Ghent in 1957 (1881) and, especially, in the two volumes of the *Corpus des Primitifs Flamands* dealing with works attributed to Joos van Gent, that on the National Gallery, London, written by Davies (1891) and that on the Palazzo Ducale of Urbino, written by Lavalleye (1901).

At the heart of the discussion are the 28 *Portraits of Illustrious Men* that formed the decoration of the *studiolo* of the duke of Urbino (No. 103). Indeed, the *Communion of the Apostles* (No. 99), solidly authenticated by contemporary documents (1911), is no longer contested, while the attributions adopted for the *Portrait of Federigo with his Son* (No. 104), the *Liberal Arts* (No. 105) and the *Lecture in Hampton Court* (No. 106) are largely dependent on the position taken in respect of the problem of the *Illustrious Men*. Some of the critics, following Friedländer and Lavalleye, believe the 28 portraits to be the work of Joos van Gent, relying on the quasi contemporary testimony of Vespasiano da Bisticci (see p. 49). This is the opinion of Winkler (1921), Davies (1931), Wehle (1941), Boon (1951), van Gelder (1961), and others, although these authors do not necessarily reject the possibility of a collaboration. An assistant, possibly Pedro Berruguete, may have worked with Joos but only as a subordinate helping the master. The recent book by Lavalleye suggests that Joos was pressed for time in Urbino. The *Communion of the Apostles* was not yet finished—the final payment was made only in October 1474, at a time when the *Portraits* were already under way. A first stage of the work has indeed been discovered underneath the present painting, and this must have been done before August 1474, when Federigo was awarded the Order of the Garter and granted the title of duke (1971). Further the infra-red photographs taken in 1959 for the *Corpus*, some of which have been published by Lavalleye (1981), reveal surprising prepara-

tory drawings beneath the paint layer of the *Portraits*. The quality and unity of these drawings certainly favours the unitarian thesis, at least regarding composition and preliminary sketches. Panofsky, although he refrains from discussing the Italian works of Joos, seems to approve the position of Friedländer and Lavalleye, by insisting that the Flemish paintings of the artist contained the germ of immense possibilities (199). Another group of authors suggest that Pedro Berruguete took a much more important part, indeed ultimately replaced Joos, since the name of *Maestro Giusto* disappears from the archives after 15th June 1475. The principal critics here are Hulin de Loo (200), Post (201), Angulo Iñiguez (202), Gaya Nuño (203) and Michel (204). Some other authors favour giving the primary role in the conception of the decorations of the *studiolo* to an Italian artist, either Melozzo da Forlì, or Bramante, or Piero della Francesca. Among this last group are Buscaroli (205), Rotondi (206) and Longhi (207), who gives most of the work to Berruguete, under the influence of Piero.

Finally, a few critics prefer to remain neutral. Bruyn, for example, in a recent review of Lavalleye's *Corpus* volume, declares he is not satisfied with the Joos theory, but neither does he accept Berruguete as a solution. He offers no new theory of his own (208). When one reviews the various separate attributions that have been proposed for each of the portraits, one can only conclude that the overall picture is one of hopeless confusion. This was indeed shown by Lavalleye (209), who has also definitively cleared up an error about the arrangement of the two rows of the *Portraits*. What had been considered the lower is actually the upper, and *vice versa* (210). The error was taken over by Friedländer from Bombe and was first corrected by the organizers of the Melozzo da Forlì exhibition, held in 1938 in Forlì (211).

Among the studies of particular paintings by Joos van Gent are those of Wehle (212) on the *Adoration of the Magi* in New York (No. 101) and of Dhanens on the triptych of the *Crucifixion* in Ghent (No. 100) (213). On the iconography of this same triptych, one should consult the articles by De Baets (214), and on its conservation treatment and its predella representing the *Siege of Jerusalem by Titus* the articles by various authors from the *Institut du Patrimoine Artistique* in Brussels (215). An attribution of this altarpiece to Daniel de Rijcke has been proposed by De Schryver (216) but disputed by Sulzberger. The latter writer believes Joos to be of Dutch origin (217).

Paintings attributed to Joos and to Berruguete have been shown, since 1937, in various exhibitions, the most important of which was held in Ghent in 1957. It assembled about 100 items, directly or indirectly related to the question (218). This exhibition has been discussed by many writers, for example, Winkler (219), Boon (220), Carter (221), Camón Aznar (222), Schaffran (223) and Marlier (224).

While this volume was under press, Lavin published an extensive iconographic study of the altarpiece of the *Communion of the Apostles* (No. 99), and its predella by Uccello (225).

1. The Boisserée collection was apparently never in Aachen, but successively in Cologne, Heidelberg and Stuttgart. The four panels had first entered the Bettendorf collection, which was brought from Brussels to Aachen in 1814. The *Manna* and *Melchizedek* panels were then acquired by the brothers Boisserée (1815), and later (1827) by King Ludwig I of Bavaria for the Pinakothek in Munich.

2. For the present state of the altarpiece, see P. Coremans, R. J. Gettens and J. Thissen, 'La Technique des "Primitifs Flamands"'. Etude Scientifique des Matériaux, de la Structure et de la Technique Picturale', in *Studies in Conservation*, 1, 1952, pp. 8-29.

3. This arrangement proposed by Friedländer has been since corroborated by a technical examination of the wood of the four panels. See R. Lefèvre and F. Van Molle, 'De Oorspronkelijke Schikking van de Luiken van Bouts' Laatste Avondmaal', in *Bulletin de l'Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique*, III, 1960, pp. 5-19.

4. In the original edition: *Kleverwyck*, a misprint for *Keverwijck*.

5. The hand of Hugo van der Goes is recognizable also in the grisaille of the reverse (Suppl., Vol. XIV, 1937). See also Vol. IV, No. 11 and pp. 42-43 of the German edition.

6. This painting is the *Nativity* now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington; see Vol. I, Suppl., p. 104.

7. This seems to explain Friedländer's contradictory statements as to which of these paintings is the original (p. 23 and 59—Nos. 2 and 2a—and Note 25). R. Van Schoute, in 'La Chapelle Royale de Grenade' (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, 1. *Corpus de la Peinture des Anciens Pays-Bas Méridionaux au Quinzième Siècle*, 6), Antwerp, 1963, was the first to publish an extensive photographic documentation on the Granada altarpiece.

8. This portrait cannot be one side of a diptych since the sitter is praying to the right. Had it been part of a diptych, he would be praying to the left, leaving heraldic precedence to the Virgin and Child. It must then be the fragment from a larger composition (see E. Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting. Its Origins and Character*, Cambridge, Mass., 1953, I, Notes 294¹⁶ and 318³). Panofsky had this assumption, based on iconographical considerations, confirmed by a technical investigation with the following result: none of the panel's four edges is original, and an x-radiograph shows that the background is overpainted.

9. This portrait is now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Friedsam collection).

9bis. L. de Laborde, *Inventaire des Tableaux, Livres, Joyaux et Meubles de Marguerite d'Autriche...*, Paris, 1850, p. 29, Note 1.

10. See also Vol. V, pp. 70-71 of the German edition.

11. In 1467; see Vol. IV, p. 11 of the German edition. On 13th January 1465, Joos stood surety for the painters Daniel De Rijcke

and Jacob van Buxstale. See J. Lavalleye, *Juste de Gand Peintre de Frédéric de Montefeltre*, Louvain, 1936, pp. 37-38.

12. The triptych is now placed against the West wall of the North arm of the transept.

13. For the exact identification of the subjects represented on the wings, Moses sweetening the bitter Waters of Mara, and the Brazen Serpent, see J. De Baets, 'De Betekenis van het Drieluik "De Kruisdood" van Josse van Wassenhove in de Sint-Baafskathedraal te Gent', in *Schets* (Ghent), 1957, No. 2, pp. 33-37; Idem, 'Het Calvarieberg-retabel van Joos van Wassenhove te Gent. Iconografische Studie', in *Bulletin des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, XI, 1962, pp. 185-220.

14. A detailed analysis, in 1959-1960, of the material condition of both the *Communion of the Apostles* and of the *Illustrious Men* now in Urbino is given by J. Lavalleye, 'Le Palais Ducal d'Urbino' (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, 1. *Corpus...*, 7), Brussels, 1964, pp. 1-5 and 44-51. The present state of preservation of the *Communion* can be usefully appreciated by comparing photographs of details taken before and after the deadly treatment of 1931, especially the head of Christ and the profile of the duke (reproduced in Lavalleye, *op. cit.*, Pl. X-XI and LXXII).

15. The contrary is true, as has been proved by careful observation of the panels, especially the decorative figures in grisaille, shown—now fragmentarily—on the interior corners of the *Portraits*. See J. Lavalleye, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-55 and 70, see also text illustration pp. 48-49 and Pl. CLXXXVI.

16. Confusion with St. Gregory. Friedländer gives the name correctly on p. 51, No. 16.

17. West is a mistake; Friedländer obviously means here the East wall, the only one wide enough for the insertion of Federigo's portrait.

18. For the confusion here between the two rows, see p. 50 and Note 15. This confusion will continue to arise in the following pages.

19. For the position of Federigo's portrait on the East wall, see Note 17.

20. Precise dimensions are here added by the editors; they consist of the average of three measurements and correspond to the original parts of the panels, excluding the wooden strips added later to certain of them. These dimensions are given according to Lavalleye, *op. cit.*, pp. 109 and 44-45, and to R. Van Schoute, 'Le Musée National du Louvre' (*Corpus...*), II (in preparation).

21. Some of the portraits of *Illustrious Men* in the Louvre are now exhibited among the Flemish School, in a separate room reminding of the *studiolo* of the palace at Urbino. Some of the panels that have now been brought back to Urbino are represented in Paris by lifesize photographs. See E. Michel, *Musée*

National du Louvre, Catalogue Raisonné des Peintures du Moyen Age, de la Renaissance et des Temps Modernes. Peintures Flamandes du xve et du xvie Siècle, Paris, 1953, pp. 146-151.

22. It is not proved that the *Seven Liberal Arts* formed the decoration of the library at Urbino. M. Davies proposes the studio of the ducal palace at Gubbio as the original location. See M. Davies, *National Gallery Catalogues. Early Netherlandish School*, London, 1945, p. 50 (2d. ed. 1955, p. 56), and Idem, 'The National Gallery, London' (*Les Primitifs Flamands, I. Corpus...*, 3), II, Antwerp, 1954, pp. 148-149. The dimensions of the London panels are here given as in the latter publication, pp. 142-143.

23. The London pictures are now catalogued under the name of Joos van Wassenhove. See Davies, *National Gallery Catalogues...*, 1945, pp. 47 and 48; 2d. ed., 1955, p. 54.

24. The *Visitation* and the *Nativity* are painted on a single panel, forming the centrepiece of a triptych. This altarpiece thus consists of three panels and not four.

25. The altarpiece of Granada is the original, while the considerably smaller and astonishingly close replica is probably a workshop product (Suppl., Vol. XIV, 1937). See also pp. 22, 23. This last opinion of Friedländer has been unequivocally upheld by Schöne, *Dieric Bouts und seine Schule*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1938, pp. 80-82, and by R. Van Schoute, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

26. Cf. Note 25.

27. For the possibility that this painting is part of a larger ensemble, see E. Panofsky, *op. cit.*, p. 536, Addendum to Note 316¹. See also Supp. 108, Add. 116 and Note 81.

28. See also Vol. XIV, p. 105 of the German edition, where Friedländer identifies St. Donatian introducing the donor and St. Adrian introducing the donatrix. This triptych was not included in Volume VI, German edition.

29. Not Claire but Gertrude. The reverse of the wings shows an Annunciation in grisaille.

30. W. Schöne gives this panel to an independent master in Dieric's circle, whom he calls the Master of the *St. John on Patmos* of Rotterdam (*op. cit.*, pp. 208-210).

31. See also Supp. 107 and Add. 115.

32. The cleaning of the background has since revealed parts of the patron saint in the rôle of introducing the sitter, showing that this portrait is a fragment of an altarpiece.

33. St. John the Baptist was on the reverse of the *Taking of Christ* and St. John the Evangelist on that of the *Resurrection*.

34. The four panels came from the Boisserée collection; they were acquired by the brothers Boisserée in 1812 and are said to have come from the church of St. Lawrence in Cologne.

35. See also Vol. VI, No. 57.

36. See also Vol. VII, p. 33 of the German edition.

37. The hand of Hugo van der Goes is discernible in the grisailles on the verso of the shutters as well (Suppl., Vol. XIV, 1937). See also Vol. IV, No. 11. The triptych of the martyrdom of St. Hippolytus is in an early 16th-century frame, which also includes two saints in grisaille, Charlemagne and Margaret, by an unknown painter; see Plate 43. Another triptych with the same subject but quite different in style, has been acquired recently

by the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. It shows also the Berthoz coat of arms; see Vol. IV, Addenda. The scene on the right shutter of the Bruges triptych seems to show, according to the *Golden Legend* by Jacobus de Varagine, (13th August), the Emperor Decius handing Hippolytus's case over to his prefect Valerian.

38. A partial and free copy of this *Road to Heaven* was used as the left wing of a *Last Judgment* altarpiece by a Brussels follower of van der Weyden, perhaps Vrancke van der Stockt; see Vol. II, Add. 158. A copy on canvas by a weak hand shows the composition of Nos. 30 and 31 united with the central part of a *Last Judgment* composition (Munich, Pinakothek, see Add. 118). This would reflect the now lost Louvain Townhall painting. A fragment with a head of Christ (Dortmund, collection of Dr. Heinrich Becker, Supp. 109) would come from this lost central panel. This theory has been put forward by Schöne (*op. cit.*, pp. 101-102) and is supported, among others, by F. Baudouin, 'Kanttekeningen bij de Catalogus van de Dieric Bouts-Tentoonstelling', in *Bulletin des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, VII, 1958, pp. 130-131. It has recently been contradicted by A. Chatelet (see Note 132), who sees in Nos. 30 and 31, instead of the wings of a *Last Judgment*, two panels representing the *Judgment of the Individual at Death*. His conclusion is supported by comparisons with paintings by Bosch and his circle.

39. Some motives from this composition can be found in two drawings preserved in the Louvre and in the Uffizi; see [K. G. Boon], *Dieric Bouts. Palais des Beaux-Arts, Bruxelles. 1957-1958. Museum Prinsenhof, Delft, Brussels, 1957*, pp. 114-117.

40. See Note 8.

41. The *Execution of the Innocent Count*, according to Friedländer (p. 18), is the panel left incomplete at Dieric's death. This was fully confirmed when the two panels were thoroughly examined and treated in Brussels in 1957 (F. Van Molle, and others, 'La Justice d'Othon de Thierry Bouts', in *Bulletin de l'Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique*, I, 1958, pp. 7-69).

42. See also Vol. V, p. 27 of the German edition.

43. See also Vol. XIV, among the supplements to Vol. V, p. 97 of the German edition. Two other panels belonging to the same altarpiece have been discovered since, and at least one other painting is attributed to this 'Master of the Gathering of the Manna'. They have been published by Boon and studied again by Haverkamp-Begemann, see Notes 174 and 175. See also Add. 129 and Add. 130.

44. Hoogewerff identifies the donatrix with an abbess who died in 1459. He dates the altarpiece from about 1435. See J. G. Hoogewerff, *De Noord-Nederlandsche Schilderkunst*, I, The Hague, 1936, pp. 180-181.

45. This panel is said to have been part of an ensemble with three other Passion scenes. See Schöne, *op. cit.*, p. 194, Nos. 95 and 96. In 1938, these three paintings were in a private collection 'in einem Ort am Bodensee'. We have not been able to trace their present location. According to Schöne, this grouping was first suggested by F. Winkler. Among these four panels, Schöne mentions two *Crucifixions*, which would be quite improbable in

the same Passion altarpiece; it would be acceptable only if Schöne, in his No. 95, had used the word 'Kreuzigung' with the meaning of 'Christ Nailed to the Cross'. See Add. 124. The rectangular shape of the Marmottan panel seems to be original.

46. Sts. Peter and Catherine are painted in grisaille; these paintings seem to have originally formed the reverse of another triptych.

47. This triptych is also called the altarpiece of Holy Saturday. This title is justified by the inscription. In chronological order, the triptych represents, on the left wing, the Virgin with the mourners returning from Christ's tomb; on the centre-piece, the Virgin at prayer, waiting at her home; on the right wing, the apparition of the resurrected Christ. The first scene corresponds to Good Friday night, the second to Holy Saturday and the third to Easter Sunday, early in the morning.

48. More evidence has been discovered by M. Wéra ('Contribution à l'Étude d'Albert Bouts', in *Revue Belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art*, xx, 1951, pp. 139-144). See also J. Folie, 'Les Œuvres Authentifiées des Primitifs Flamands', in *Bulletin de l'Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique*, vi, 1963, pp. 249-251. During its treatment in Brussels in 1953, extensive overpainting in the sky, including the halo, was removed; see R. Sneyers and J. Thissen, 'Identification d'un Surpeint sur une Assomption de la Vierge d'Albert Bouts', in *Bulletin de l'Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique*, i, 1958, pp. 146-148.

49. Barbara, not Catherine.

50. Mary Magdalene, not Barbara. The panels are presently cradled; the versos described by Friedländer had already disappeared when the panels were acquired by the museum in 1935 (letter from Dr. F. Goldkuhle, director, 7th May 1968).

51. See Add. 119 and 120.

52. See Add. 125.

53. See Addenda, p. 78.

54. See Add. 126 and 127, and p. 78. For versions in the style of Hugo van der Goes, see Vol. iv, No. 35 and p. 71 of the German edition.

55. The *Annunciation* (51 x 38 cm) is painted on a different panel that was attached to the reverse of the diptych. It has now been separated and the two works are exhibited individually. The actual reverse of the diptych shows a 16th-century inscription (Plate 76).

56. Hubert, not Cornelius.

57. See also No. 91.

58. May be identical with the painting sold at the Butterworth auction, New York, 20th October 1954, No. 26; 28.5 x 18.5 cm(?).

59. See Add. 128 and p. 78.

60. See also Vol. vii, p. 33 of the German edition.

61. See also Vol. v, p. 27 of the German edition.

62. Apparently sold at Mensing's, Amsterdam, 1937, No. 380; 215 x 150 mm.

63. For other versions of the *Annunciation* now in Richmond, Virginia, see Schöne, *op. cit.*, p. 116, No. 14a. See also Add. 121.

64. In the original edition: 633 c, a misprint for 533 c.

65. See Addenda, p. 78. See also the lists in the *Corpus des Primitifs Flamands* (Cf. Notes 137-139), i.e. in the volumes on the National Gallery, London, pp. 34-36; the New England museums, pp. 59-61; the Louvre, pp. 57-59.

66. See J. Białostocki and M. Walicki, *Europäische Malerei in Polnischen Sammlungen. 1300-1800*, Warsaw, 1957, pp. 473-474, Pl. 38-39.

67. A particularly fine specimen, possibly by Dieric Bouts (Suppl., Vol. xiv, 1937).

68. On his personal copy of Vol. iii, now kept in Florence at the Instituto Universitario Olandese di Storia dell'Arte, Friedländer noted here: Seen in 1935. The name Weisberger is spelt Weisgerber by Schöne, *op. cit.*, p. 132, No. 19 c 25, and by H. Adhémar, 'Le Musée National du Louvre, Paris' (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, 1. *Corpus...*, 5), Brussels, 1962, p. 58, No. 4.

69. The painting had a date inscribed on the wall of the arcade-lobby, on the right side: 1494. This information was kindly communicated by Dr. Otakar Votoček, Litoměřice (letter of 24th November 1967).

70. Three paintings by the Master of the St. Lucy Legend, or by his workshop, have been found where this posture of the Child leaning through the Virgin's prayer book reappears, not copied exactly but freely interpreted: 1. *Virgin and Child in Majesty* surrounded by music-playing angels, Zurich, von Schulthess-Bodmer collection, see Vol. vi, No. 153; 2. the Virgin, at knee-length, with the Child and two angels, one offering a flower, the other holding a book, Florence, Dr. Paoletti collection, 42 x 34 cm; this came from Munich, von Nemes auction, 11 and 12 November 1933, No. 59. There is a photograph, after cleaning, in the Friedländer Archives, Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie, The Hague; 3. the Virgin at knee-length, with the Child and two angels, one playing the lute, the other playing the harp (the Virgin holds the book), New York, George D. Pratt... auction at Parke-Bernet, 31st October 1942, No. 124, on panel, 60 x 53 cm; probably identical with No. 152B, Vol. vi.

71. This painting has been skilfully cleaned and must be acknowledged an original by Dieric Bouts (Suppl., Vol. xiv, 1937).

72. Included in Vol. vi, as No. 140, and in Schöne, *op. cit.*, No. 140a, p. 212 (wrongly indicated as being in the van der Elst collection, Vienna). For other examples of this composition, see Vol. vi, No. 152 and Vol. i, p. 92, Pl. 97A (Bode Museum, Berlin, mentioned in 1924 as on loan to the museum of Münster, Westphalia).

73. A number of versions of this Madonna have been attributed to the Master of the St. Lucy Legend. See Vol. vi, Nos. 146 (identical with the present No. 93c), 147, 148 (?), and H. Adhémar, 'Le Musée National du Louvre, Paris' (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, 1. *Corpus...*, 5), Brussels, 1962, p. 64. See also Addenda, p. 78.

74. See Vol. vi, No. 146.

75. Now that disfiguring restorative work has been removed, this painting is acknowledged to be an original by Dieric Bouts.

The replica from the Engel-Gros collection is slightly inferior (Suppl., Vol. XIV, 1937).

76. The predella too is preserved in the Galleria Nazionale delle Marche (39 x 355 cm); it is reproduced together with the *Communion of the Apostles* in Lavalleye, *op. cit.*, Pl. I.

77. The reverse of the wings, very much damaged, shows St. Lawrence and St. Louis (Plate 102). The triptych was examined and treated in Brussels in 1953; see Note 215. A predella showing the *Capture of Jerusalem by Titus*, from the same altarpiece, is preserved in the Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Ghent (31 x 170 cm). It is obviously by a weaker hand, close to the style of the contemporary—or somewhat later—Ghent and Bruges school of book illumination. See Note 215.

78. See also Vol. IV, p. 64 of the German edition.

79. The panels representing Duns Scotus, Euclid and St. Albert were cleaned and restored in Rome in 1953; see G. Urbani, 'Schede di Restauro', in *Bollettino dell'Istituto Centrale del Restauro* (Rome), Nos. 17-18, 1954, pp. 68-73.

80. The possibility that the *Seven Liberal Arts* were painted for the studiolo of the palace at Gubbio has been put forward by M. Davies, see Note 22.

81. This painting was mentioned again in 1938 by Schöne who thought it was by the Master of the Munich *Taking of Christ* and stressed its relation to two drawings partially reproducing the same composition (Schöne, *op. cit.*, p. 175, Note 2). In 1947, it was exhibited in Florence as from a 'private collection, Florence' (*Mostra d'Arte Fiamminga e Olandese dei secoli XV e XVI. Città di Firenze. Palazzo Strozzi. Maggio-Ottobre 1947*, Florence, 1948, p. 34, No. 6). In 1953, Panofsky pointed to its relation, suggested to him by J. G. van Gelder, with the London *Lamentation* (No. 3), also on canvas. The *Crucifixion* would be the centrepiece of a triptych the lower part of the right wing of which would be the London *Lamentation* (E. Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting. Its Origins and Character*, Cambridge Mass., 1953, p. 536, Addendum to Note 316¹). This has since been questioned by Davies, who nevertheless cites three other paintings on canvas seen by Eastlake in Milan in 1858-1860 together with the *Lamentation* before its acquisition by the National Gallery. They were: an *Annunciation*, a *Presentation* and an *Adoration of the Magi*. In a second report, Eastlake does not mention the *Presentation*, but a *Crucifixion* instead (M. Davies, 'The National Gallery, London' (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, 1. *Corpus...*, 3), I, Antwerp, 1953, p. 27, and *National Gallery Catalogues. Early Netherlandish School* (2d. ed.), London, 1955, p. 13). The *Crucifixion* was finally shown at the Dieric Bouts exhibition in 1957-1958 in Brussels and Delft, as No. 1. In the catalogue of this exhibition, F. Baudouin tentatively adds to this group a sixth painting on canvas, a *Resurrection of Christ* (Dieric Bouts. *Palais des Beaux-Arts, Bruxelles. 1957-1958. Museum Prinsenhof, Delft*, Brussels, 1957, p. 20). This painting was then in the possession of the art dealer Matthiesen in London (see Add. 116). Commenting on the Dieric Bouts exhibition, F. Baudouin ('Kanttekeningen by de Catalogus van de Dieric Bouts-Tentoonstelling', in *Bulletin des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, VII, 1958, pp. 120-123) and

K. G. Boon ('Bouts, Justus of Ghent and Berruguete', in *The Burlington Magazine*, C, 1958, p. 11) both express cautious judgments on the *Crucifixion*, due to its state of preservation, and doubt that it belonged to the same ensemble as the London *Lamentation*. F. Winkler, also commenting on the exhibition of 1957-1958 ('Dieric Bouts und Joos van Gent. Ausstellungen in Brüssel und Gent', in *Kunstchronik* (Munich), XI, 1958, pp. 5-6), thinks it is a very damaged early work and perhaps the centrepiece of a triptych, with four panels forming two shutters, as is the case with the altarpiece of the Holy Sacrament (No. 18).

82. Schöne considers this fragment a part of the lost centrepiece of the *Last Judgment* altarpiece ordered from Bouts for the Town Hall in Louvain (Schöne, *op. cit.*, p. 103, No. 10A). The wings of this triptych would be the two panels kept in Lille, Nos. 30 and 31. On the occasion of the Bouts exhibition in 1957-1958, Baudouin reaffirmed his conviction that this fragment, together with the wings in Lille belonged to the *Last Judgment* painted for the Town Hall (Baudouin, 'Kanttekeningen...', pp. 130-131). See also Note 38.

83. In reality, the centrepiece for an altarpiece of the Holy Kindred.

84. F. Baudouin, 'Bouts, Albert', in *Nationaal Biographisch Woordenboek*, I, Brussels, 1964, col. 246-248; 'Bouts, Dirk I', *ibidem*, col. 249-261; 'Bouts, Dirk II', *ibidem*, col. 261-262.

85. M. J. Friedländer, 'Quentin Massijs: Reflexions on His Development', in *The Burlington Magazine*, LXXII, 1938, pp. 53-54.

86. W. Schöne, *Dieric Bouts und seine Schule*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1938.

87. More comprehensive than those of Friedländer. It did not seem useful to refer systematically, in the present volume, to Schöne's catalogues, because Schöne himself took the precaution to establish a concordance of the two catalogues; see Schöne, *op. cit.*, p. 251.

88. That is, thirty-three in the catalogue, p. 59 ff., and three in the supplements, p. 75 ff.

89. Schöne, *op. cit.*, p. 161 ff.

90. Schöne, *op. cit.*, p. 179 ff.

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98. See p. 21.

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D.B. = Dieric Bouts

A.B. = Albert Bouts

M.T.S. = Master of the Tiburtine Sibyl

B.F. = Follower of Dieric Bouts

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—, Abbey Church of Notre-Dame de la Cambre
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Plate
I



1. D. Bouts. Altarpiece of the Virgin. *Madrid, Museo del Prado*. The same, Centrepiece, Visitation and Nativity



1. D. Bouts. Altarpiece of the Virgin. Shutters with Annunciation and Adoration of the Kings. *Madrid, Museo del Prado*



2 a
2

2a. D. Bouts. Altarpiece of the Deposition. *Granada, Capilla Real*. 2. D. Bouts, replica. Altarpiece of the Deposition. *Valencia, Colegio del Patriarca (Corpus Christi)*



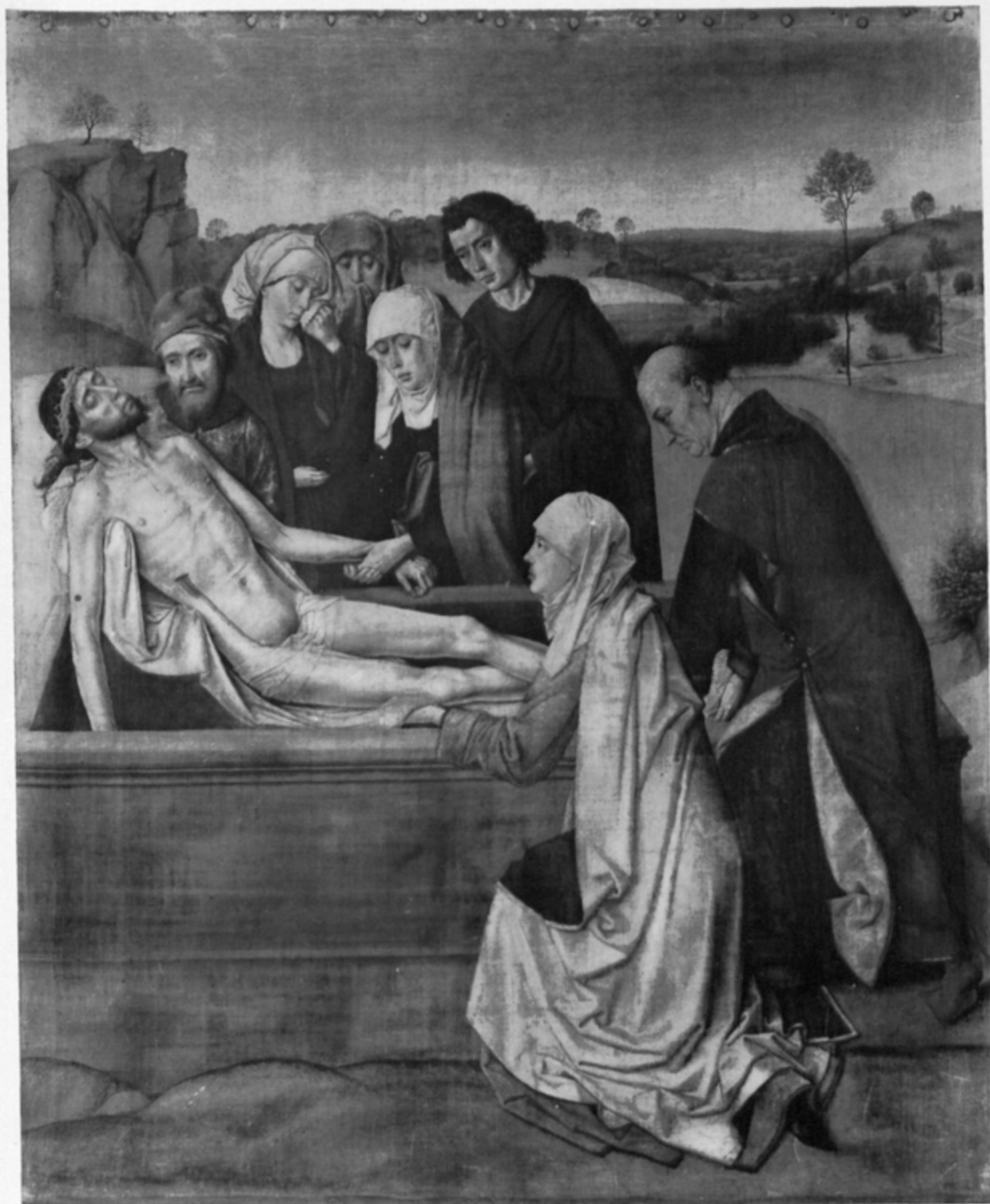
2 a. D. Bouts. Altarpiece of the Deposition, Centrepiece. *Granada, Capilla Real*



2. D. Bouts. Altarpiece of the Deposition, Centrepiece. *Valencia, Colegio del Patriarca (Corpus Christi)*



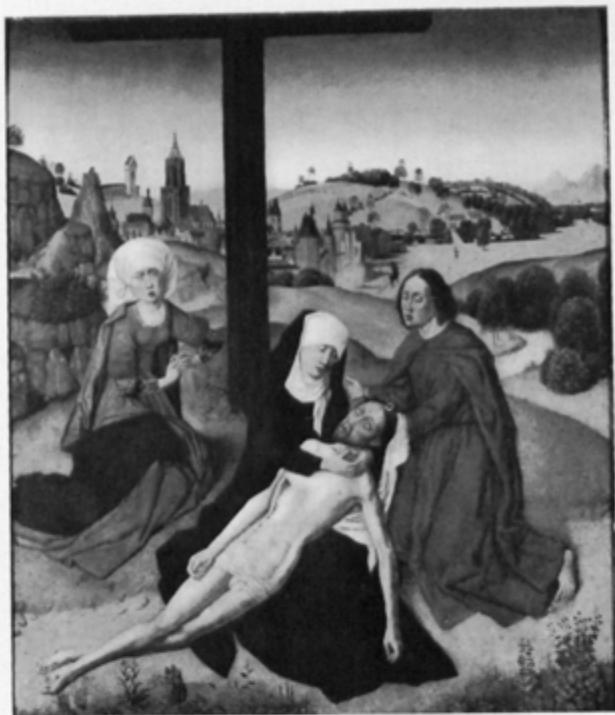
2 a. D. Bouts. Altarpiece of the Deposition. Shutters with Crucifixion and Resurrection.
Granada, Capilla Real



3. D. Bouts. Entombment. *London, National Gallery*

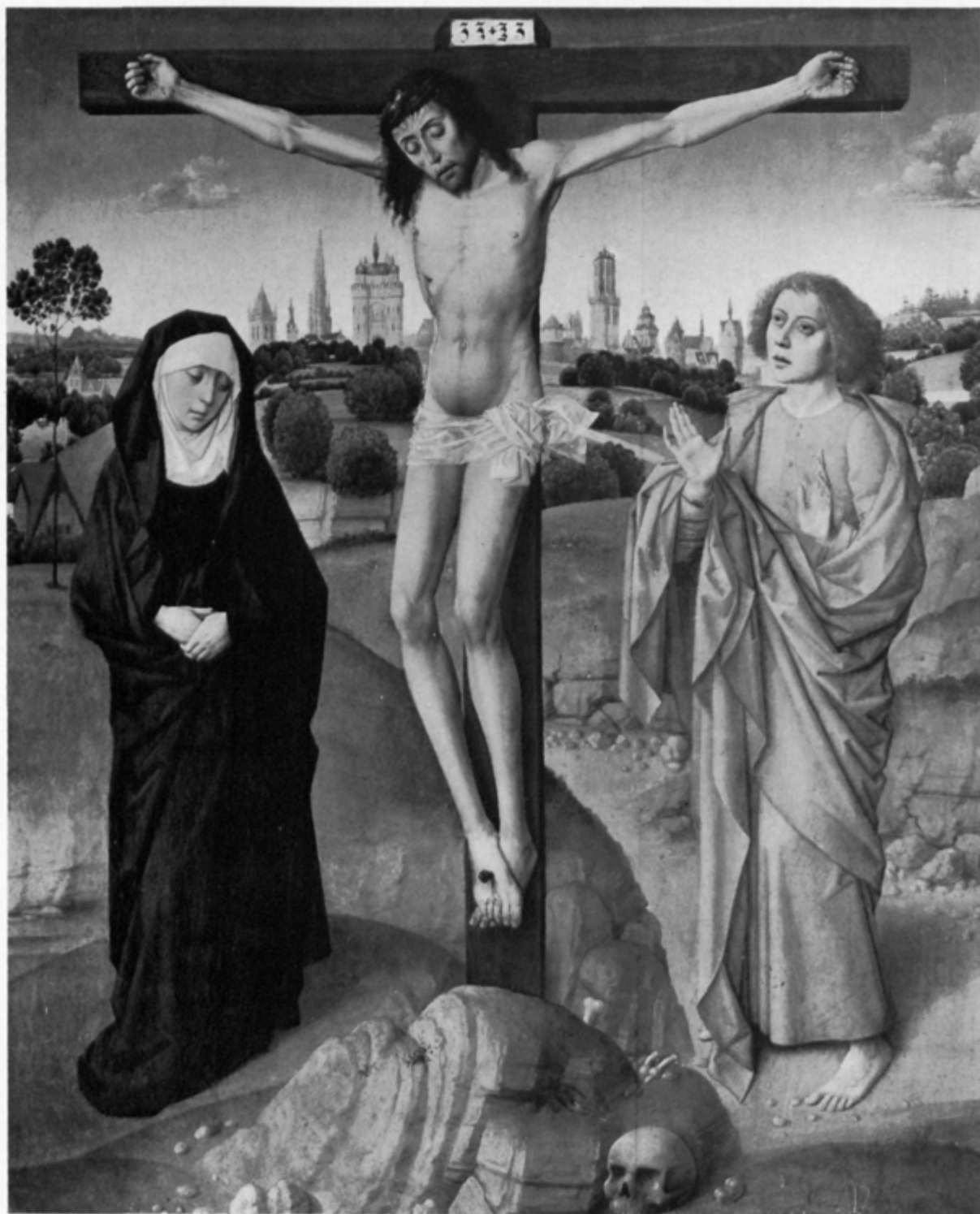


4. D. Bouts. Lamentation. Paris, Musée du Louvre



4a | 4b

4a. D. Bouts, copy. Lamentation. Frankfurt, *Städelsches Kunstinstitut*. 4b. D. Bouts, copy. Lamentation. Amsterdam, *W.J. Vroom Collection*



5. D. Bouts. Christ on the Cross, with the Virgin and St. John. Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen



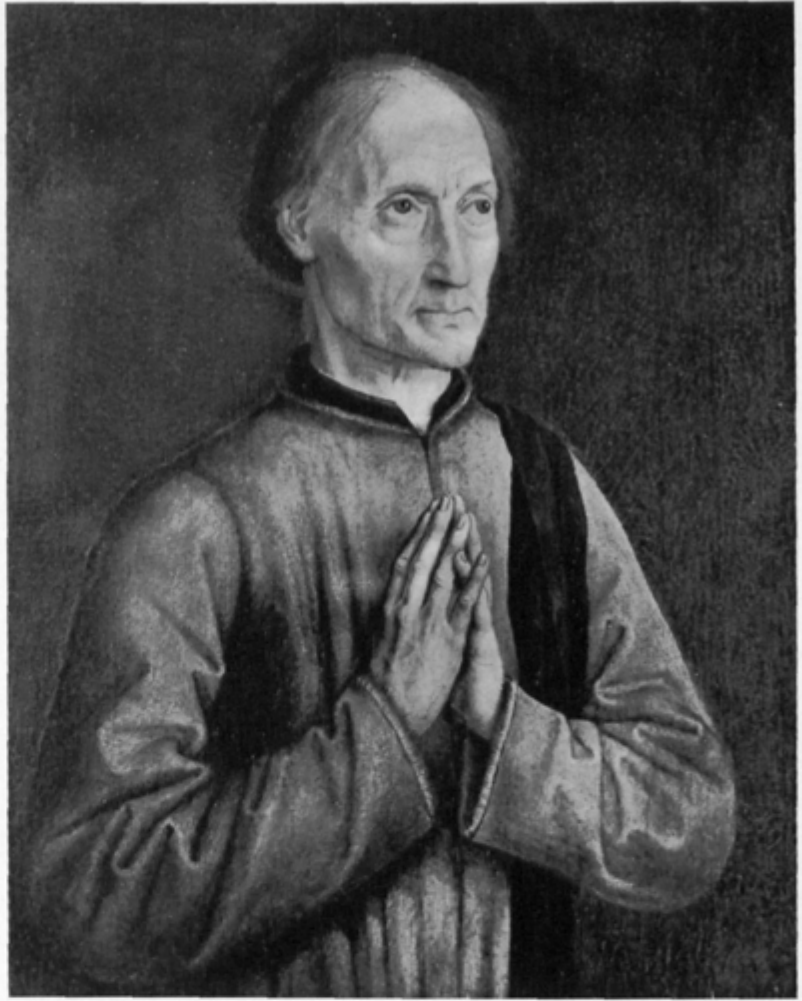
Plate
II



5 a. D. Bouts, replica. Altarpiece of the Crucifixion, Centrepiece and Right Shutter with Sts. Agatha and Gertrude, Reverse of the Right Shutter, Göttingen, Kunstsammlung der Georg-August-Universität (on loan from the Staatliche Museen, Berlin-Dahlem); Left Shutter with Sts. Catherine and Barbara, Cologne, Auctioned in 1936



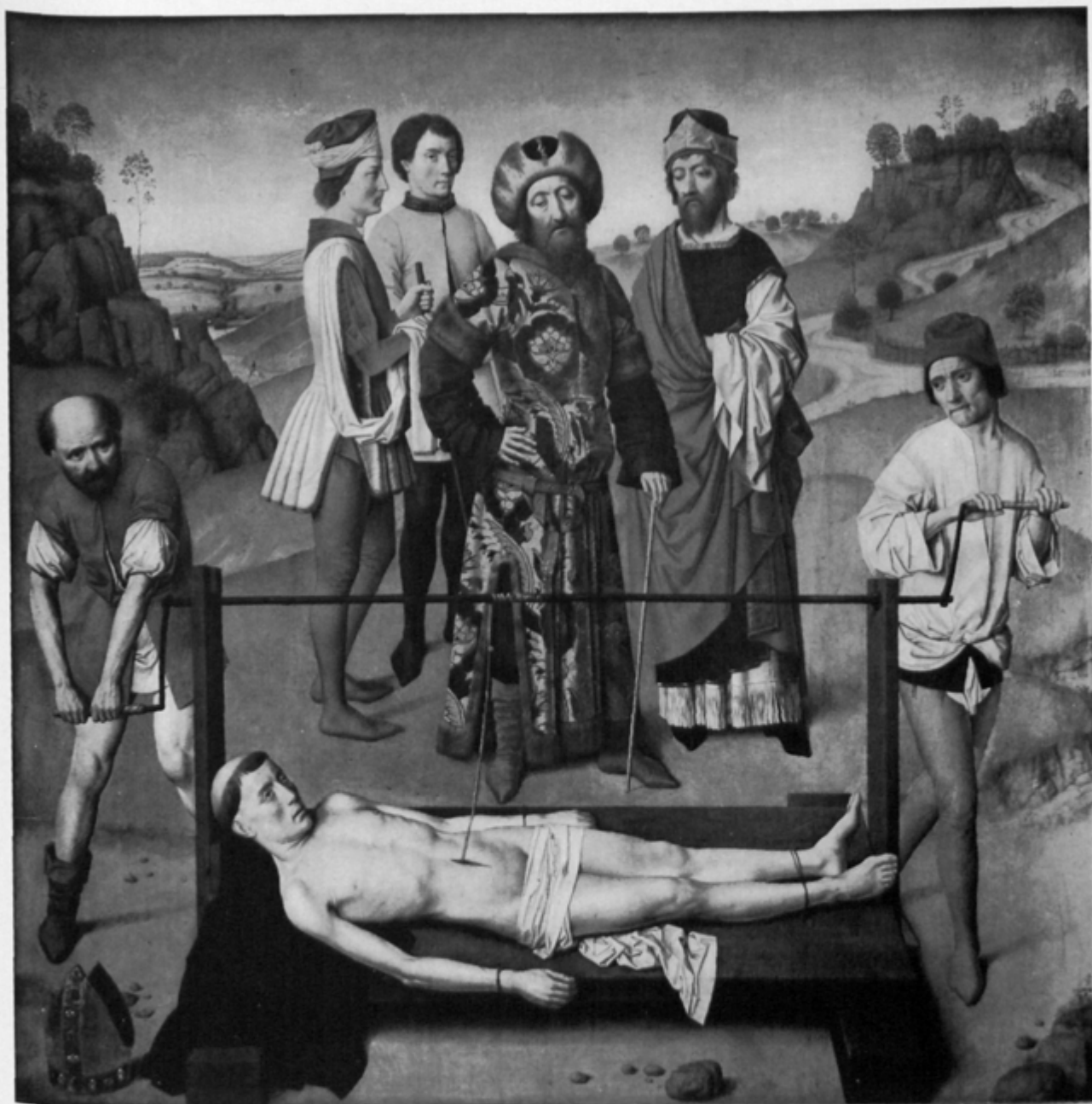
6. D. Bouts. *St. John on Patmos*. Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen





8
8 a | 8

8. D. Bouts. Triptych of St. Erasmus. Louvain, Collegiate Church of St. Peter; 8 a. D. Bouts, copy(?). St. Jerome, Washington, Collection of the late H. Cabot Lodge



8. D. Bouts. Triptych of St. Erasmus, Centrepiece, Louvain, Collegiate Church of St. Peter

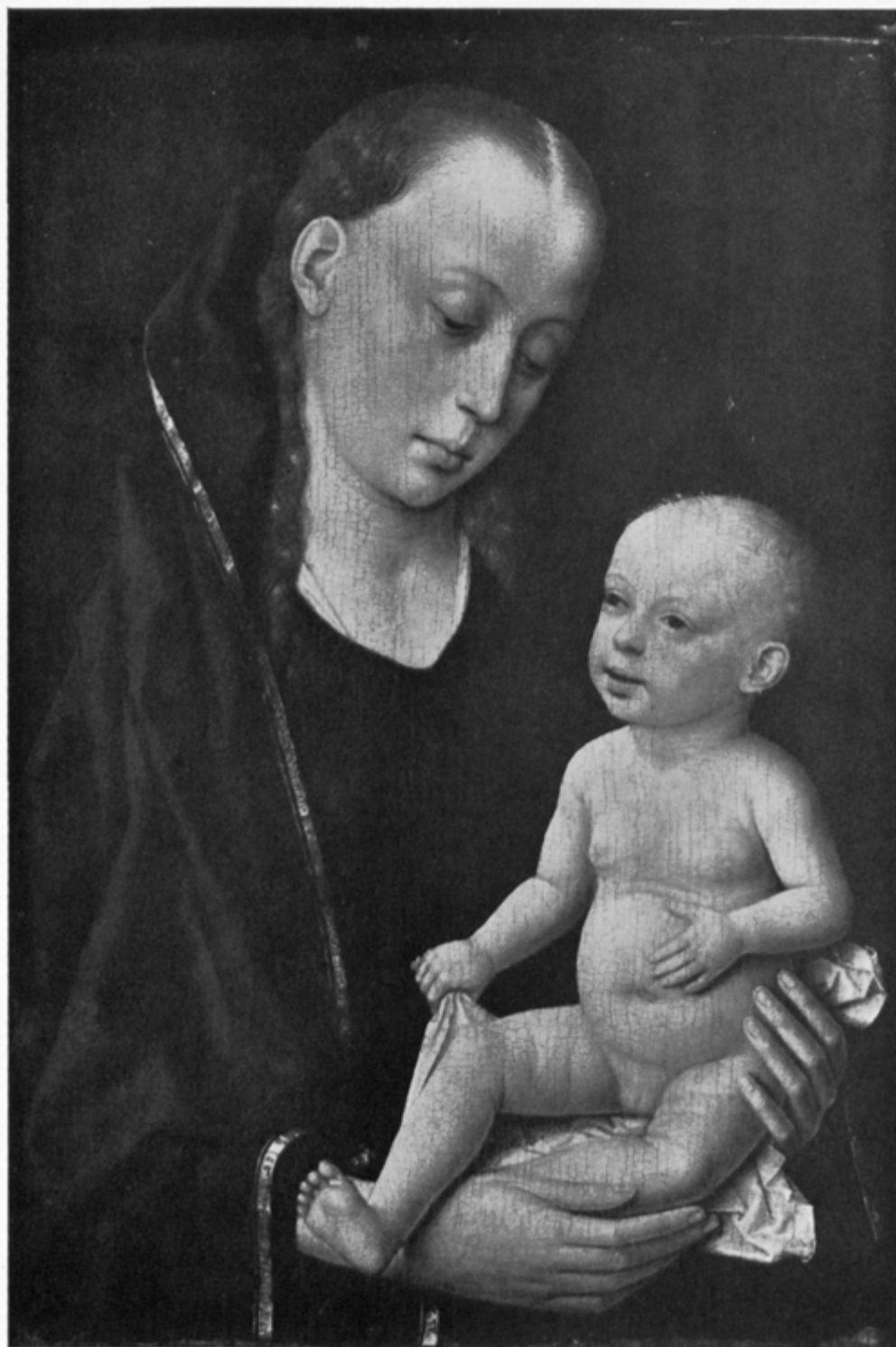


8. D. Bouts. Triptych of St. Erasmus, Shouters with Sts. Jerome and Bernard. Louvain, Collegiate Church of St. Peter



9 | 9 a
9 c

9. D. Bouts. *Virgin and Child*. Florence, *Museo Nazionale del Bargello*. 9 a. D. Bouts. *Virgin and Child*. New York, *Metropolitan Museum of Art*, *Theodore M. Davis Bequest*. 9 c. D. Bouts, copy. *Virgin and Child*. Paris, *Chalandon Collection* (where now?)

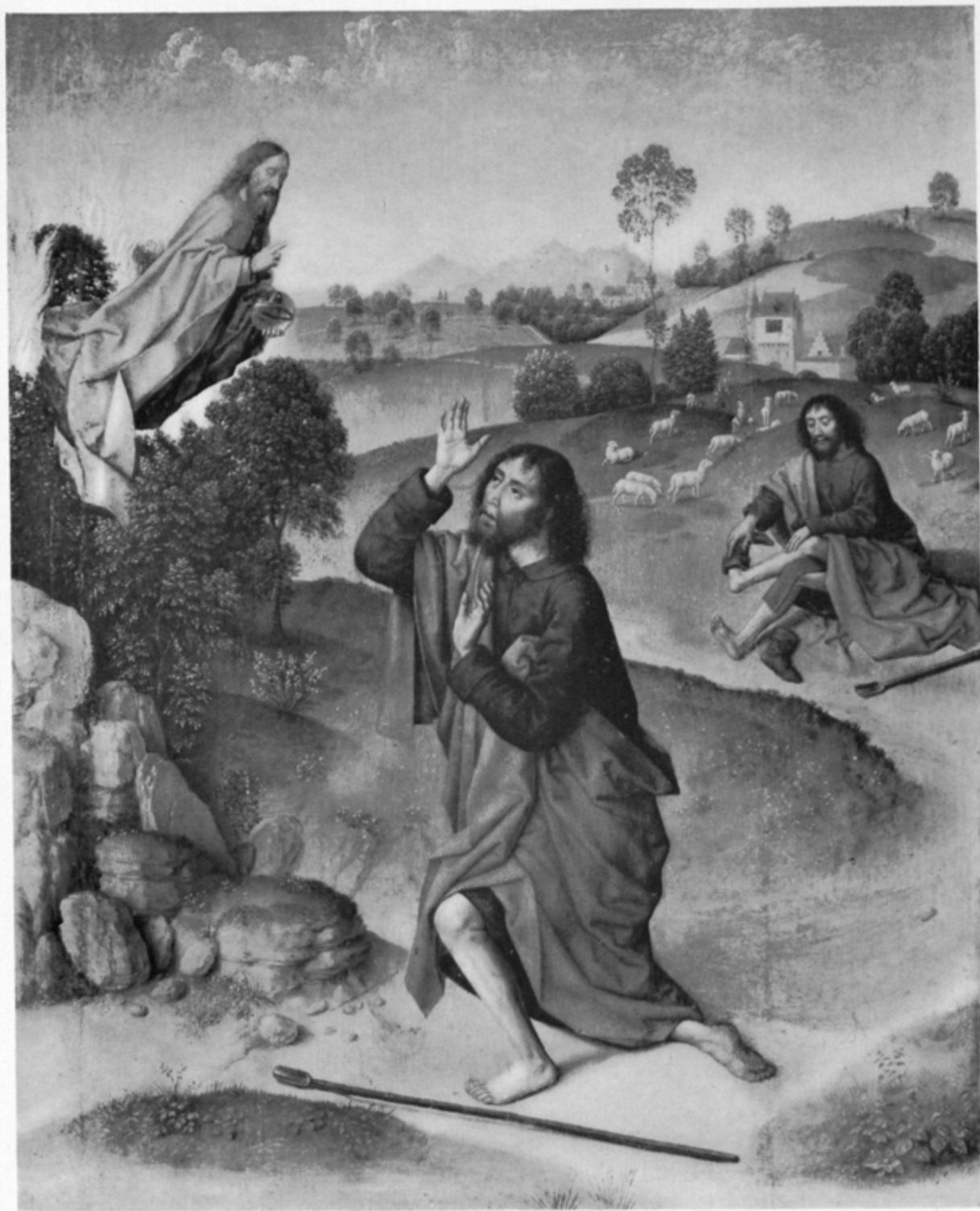


Supp. 107. D. Bouts. Virgin and Child. Geneva, Private Collection





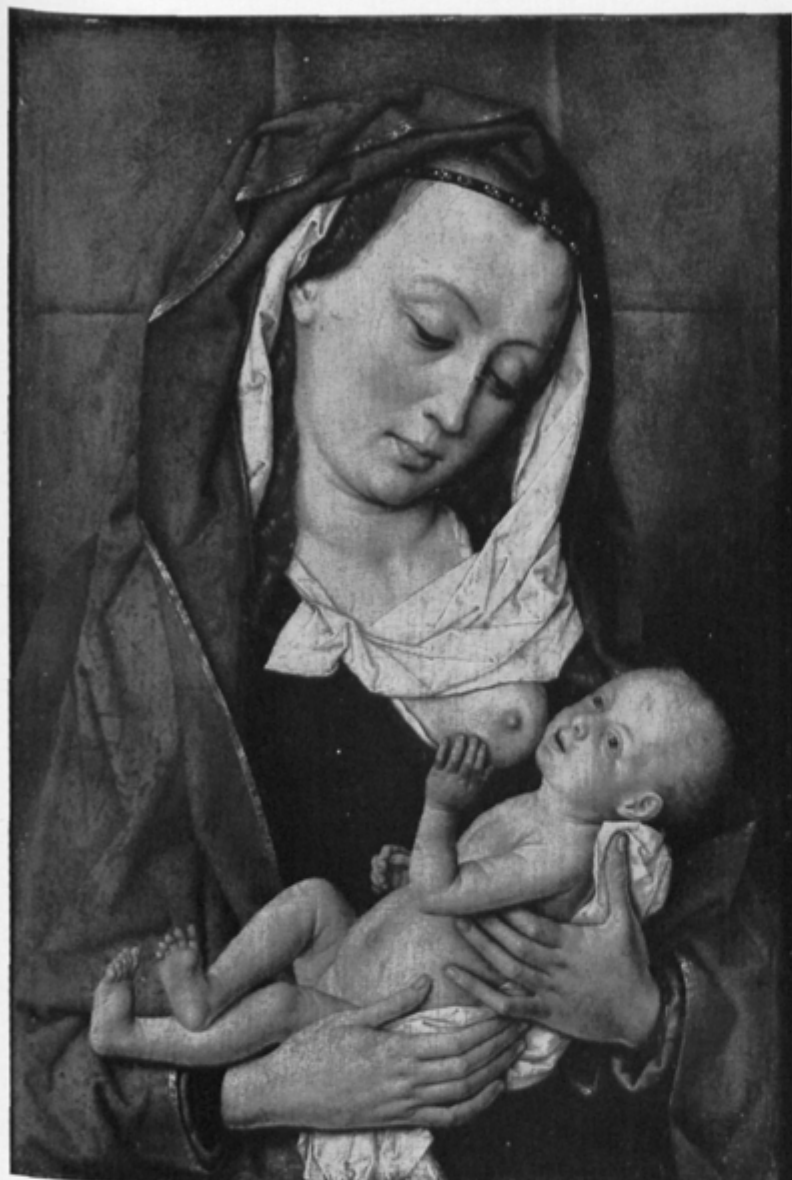
12. D. Bouts. Portrait of a Man. *London, National Gallery*



13. D. Bouts. Moses and the Burning Bush. Philadelphia, John G. Johnson Collection



14. D. Bouts. *Virgin and Child*. London, National Gallery





16. D. Bouts. Jesus in the House of Simon. Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen



17. D. Bouts. Virgin and Child with Four Angels. *Granada, Capilla Real*



18. D. Bouts. Altarpiece of the Holy Sacrament. Louvain, Collegiate Church of St. Peter



18. D. Bouts. Altarpiece of the Holy Sacrament, Centrepiece. *Louvain, Collegiate Church of St. Peter*



18. D. Bouts. Altarpiece of the Holy Sacrament, Upper Panel of the Left Shutter, Abraham and Melchizedek. Louvain, Collegiate Church of St. Peter



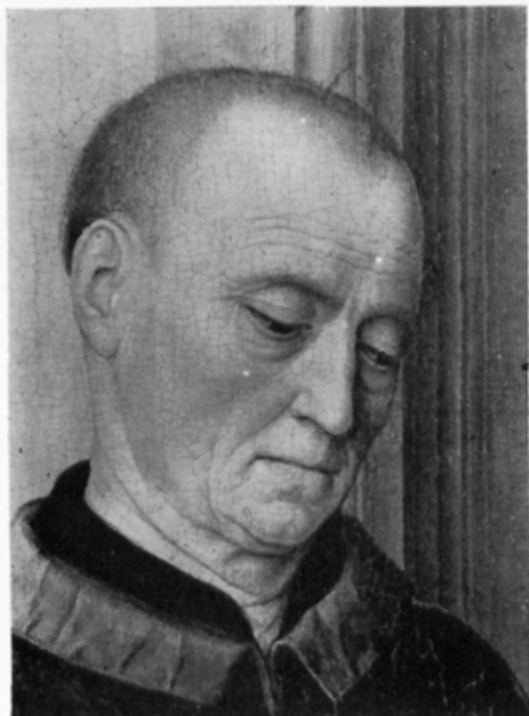
18. D. Bouts. Altarpiece of the Holy Sacrament, Upper Panel of the Right Shutter, Gathering of the Manna.
Louvain, Collegiate Church of St. Peter



18. D. Bouts. Altarpiece of the Holy Sacrament, Lower Panel of the Left Shutter, Feast of Passover. Louvain, Collegiate Church of St. Peter



18. D. Bouts. Altarpiece of the Holy Sacrament, Lower Panel of the Right Shutter, Elijah in the Desert. Louvain, Collegiate Church of St. Peter



18. D. Bouts. Altarpiece of the Holy Sacrament. Four Details of Plate 27



19. D. Bouts. Coronation of the Virgin. Vienna, Gemäldegalerie der Akademie der Bildenden Künste



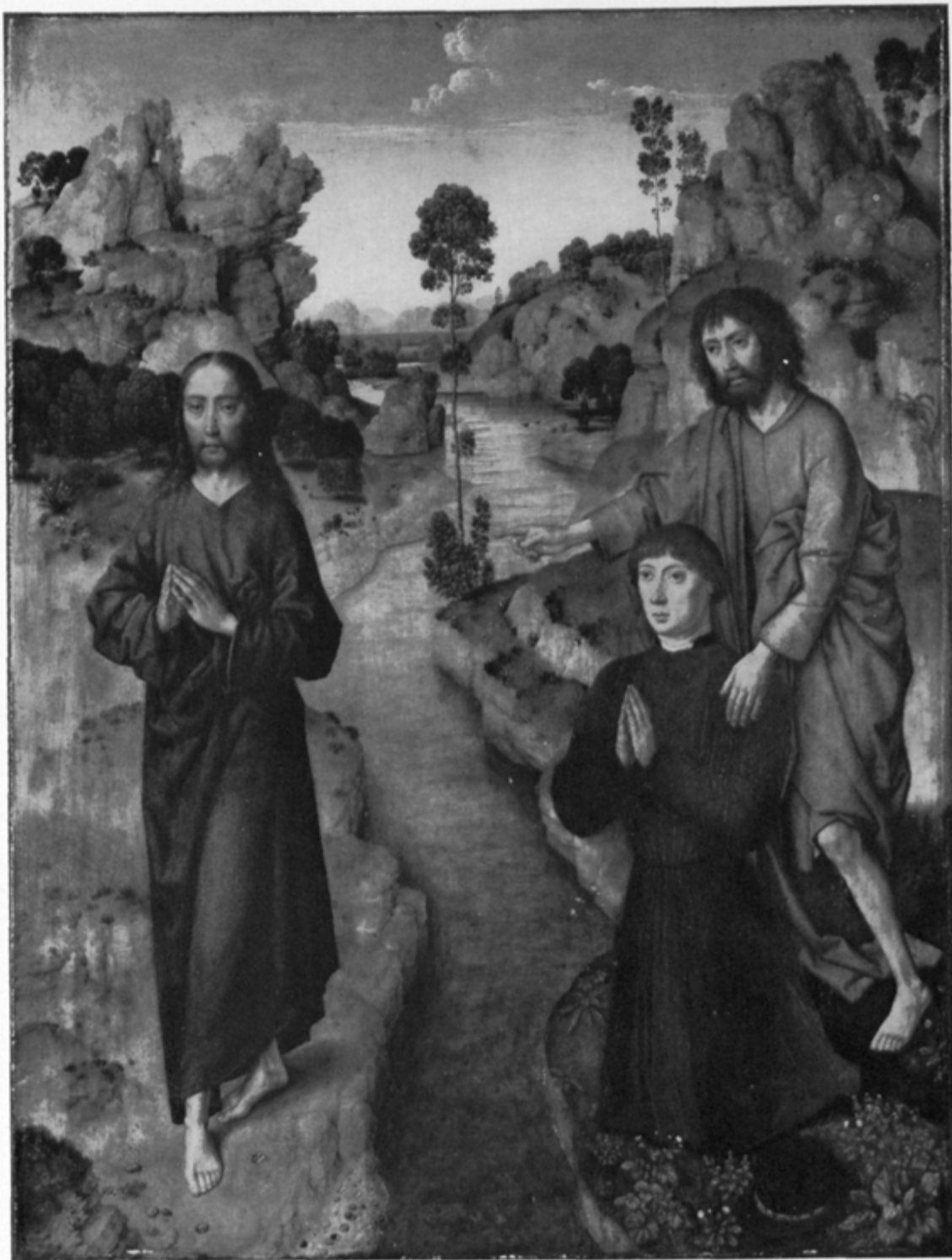
20. D. Bouts. Taking of Jesus. *Munich, Bayerische Staatgemäldesammlungen, Pinakothek. Reverse, St. John the Baptist. Cleveland, Ohio, Museum of Art, Gift of Hanna Fund*



Plate
35



21. D. Bouts. Virgin and Child with Sts. Peter and Paul. *London, National Gallery*



22. D. Bouts. Jesus with St. John the Baptist and a Donor. *Munich, Wittelsbacher Ausgleichfonds, on loan to the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Pinakothek*





24. D. Bouts. Altarpiece « The Pearl of Brabant », Centrepiece, Adoration of the Kings. Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Pinakothek



24. D. Bouts. Altarpiece « The Pearl of Brabant », Shutters, St. John the Baptist and St. Christopher. *Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Pinakothek*



25

25 a | 23

25. D. Bouts. Two Fragments from a Nativity. Virgin at Prayer. Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen. Joseph and two Shepherds. Paris, Musée du Louvre. 25 a. D. Bouts, copy. Nativity. Formerly Berlin, W. Müller Collection. 23. D. Bouts. Fragment of a Nativity. Philadelphia, John G. Johnson Collection



26 | 27

28

26. D. Bouts. *Virgin and Child in a Niche*. Paris, *Musée du Louvre*. 27. D. Bouts. *Portrait of a Monk*. Antwerp, *Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten*. 28. D. Bouts. *Annunciation*. Oeiras, Portugal, *Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation*



Plate
43



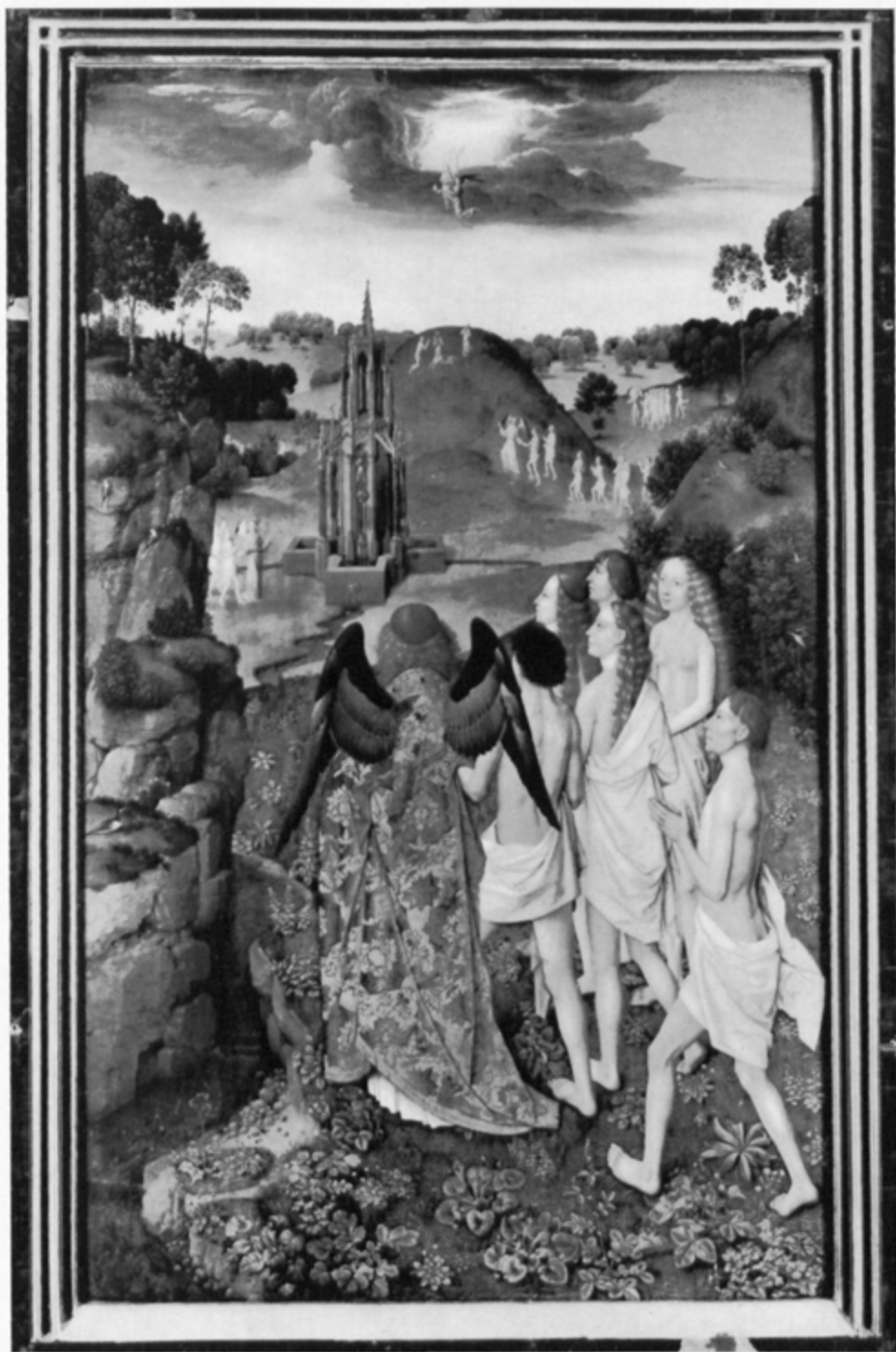
29. D. Bouts. Altarpiece of St. Hippolytus. Bruges, *St. Sauveur's Cathedral*



29. D. Bouts. Altarpiece of St. Hippolytus, Centrepiece. Bruges, *St. Sauveur's Cathedral*



29. D. Bouts. Altarpiece of St. Hippolytus, Right
Shutter. *Bruges, St. Sauveur's Cathedral*



30. D. Bouts. Road to Heaven. Lille, Palais des Beaux-Arts



31. D. Bouts. Descent of the Damned. *Lille, Palais des Beaux-Arts*



33. D. Bouts. Left Panel of the Justice of Emperor Otto, Execution of the Innocent Count. *Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*



33. D. Bouts. Right Panel of the Justice of Emperor Otto, Ordeal by Fire. *Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*







34. A. van Ouwater. Raising of Lazarus, Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen



36

A | B

36. Bouts Follower. Virgin and Child. *New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Joseph Pulitzer Fund.* A. After A. van Ouwater. Drawing. Raising of Lazarus. *Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett* (see p. 36). B. After A. van Ouwater. Drawing. Figures from a Crucifixion. *Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Kupferstichkabinett* (see p. 35-36)



Add. 129. Master of the Gathering of the Manna.
Altarpiece Panel, Offering of the Jews, with Reverse,
St. Peter. Rotterdam, *Museum Boymans-van Beuningen*



Add. 129 | 37

Add. 130

Master of the Gathering of the Manna. Altarpiece Panels. Add. 129. Christ on the Cross. *Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Private Collection*, and 37. Gathering of the Manna. *Douai, Musée*. Add. 130. Master of the Gathering of the Manna. Healing of the Blind Man in Jericho. *Blaricum, Kleiweg de Zwaan-Vellema Collection*



38. Utrecht Master. Altarpiece of the Crucifixion. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, on loan to the Centraal Museum, Utrecht, from the Dienst voor 's Rijks Verspreide Kunstvoorwerpen, The Hague



39. Anonymous Dutch Master. Altarpiece of the Life of Jesus. *Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum*. Two details : A. Annunciation and B. Lamentation



- 40
41
40. Anonymous Dutch Master. Altarpiece of the Life of the Virgin. Enschede, Rijksmuseum Twenthe, on loan from the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. 41. Anonymous Dutch Master. Christ and the Donor Family. Utrecht, Centraal Museum





44

44 a | 44 b

44. A. Bouts. Annunciation. Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Pinakothek.

44 a. A. Bouts, replica. Annunciation. Cleveland, Ohio, Museum of Art, John L. Severance Collection. 44 b. A. Bouts, replica. Annunciation. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, on loan from the Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem



Plate
61



45
47

45. A. Bouts. *The Virgin Worshipped by Joseph*. Paris, Marquis de Ganay Collection. 47. A. Bouts. *Jesus in the House of Simon*. Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique



46. A. Bouts. *Nativity*. Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten



48. A. Bouts. Transfiguration. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum





Plate
65

51 | 52

51. A. Bouts. Christ on the Cross. Brussels, *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*. 52. A. Bouts(?). Christ on the Cross. Paris, *Schiff Auction*, 1905 (Sold later in New York ?)



53. A. Bouts. Crucifixion. Paris, Musée Marmottan, Institut de France

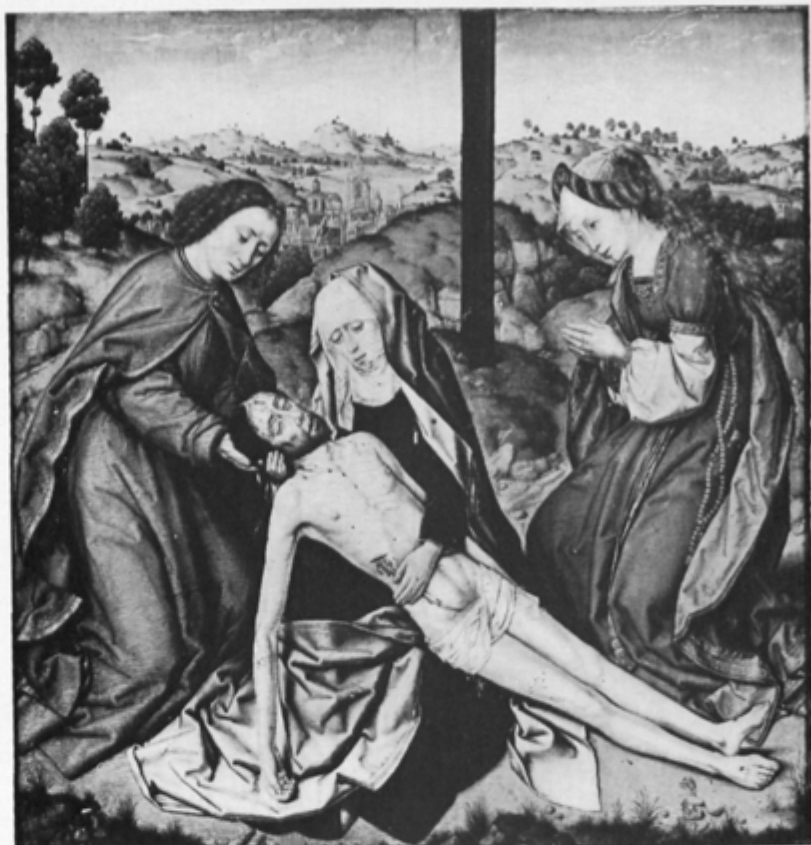


Plate
67



54. A. Bouts. Lamentation. *Frankfurt, Städtisches Historisches Museum.*
Attached Wings, Sts. Peter and Catherine



55. A. Bouts. Altarpiece of Holy Saturday. New York, Mrs. Morris Fatman Collection



Plate
69



$\frac{57}{56}$

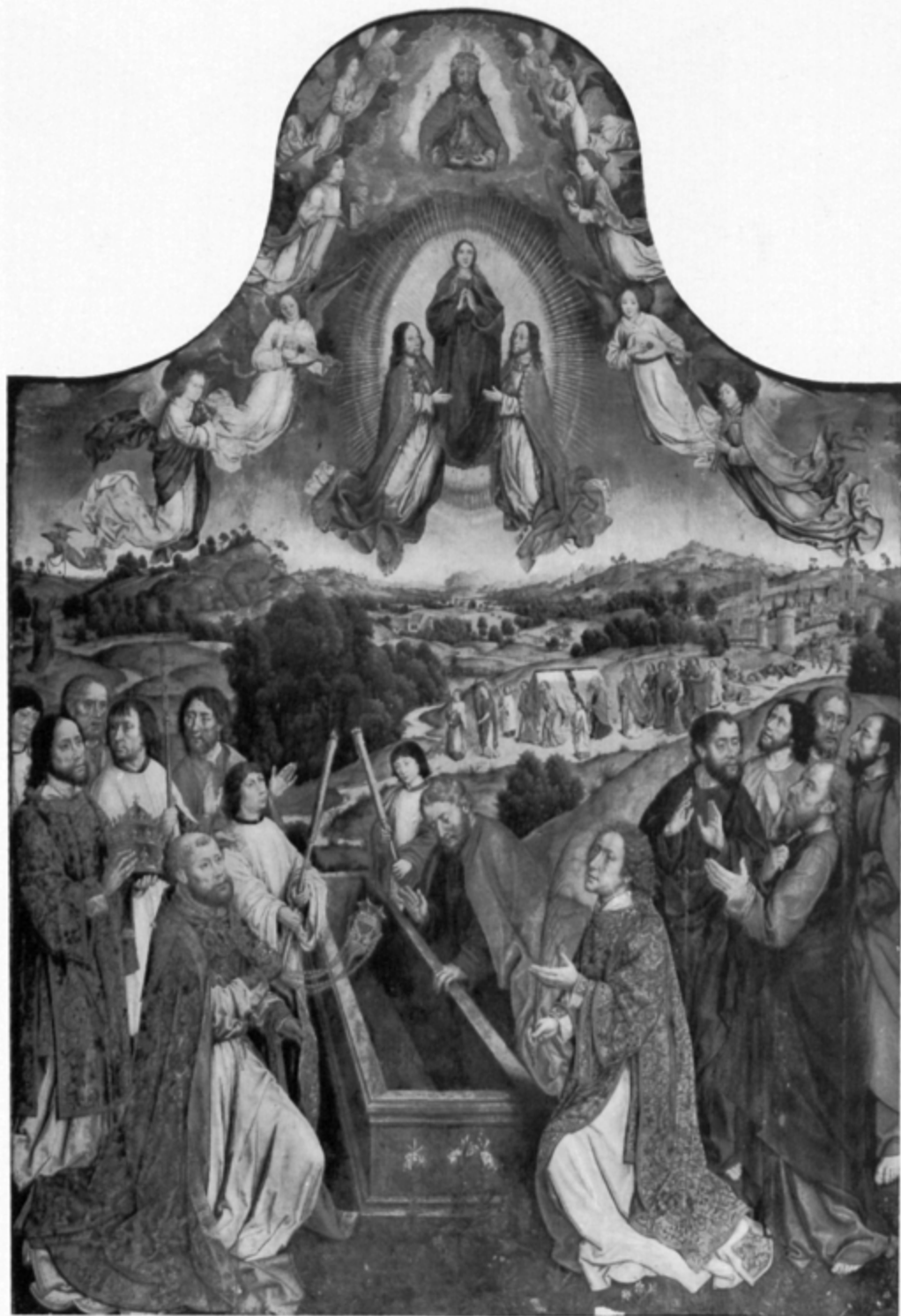
57. A. Bouts. Altarpiece of the Assumption of the Virgin. Brussels, *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*. 56. A. Bouts (?). Resurrection. The Hague, *Mauritshuis*



57. A. Bouts. Altarpiece of the Assumption of the Virgin, Centrepiece. Brussels, *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*



57. A. Bouts. Altarpiece of the Assumption of the Virgin, Shutters with Donors. *Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*



58. A. Bouts. Assumption of the Virgin. Brussels, *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*

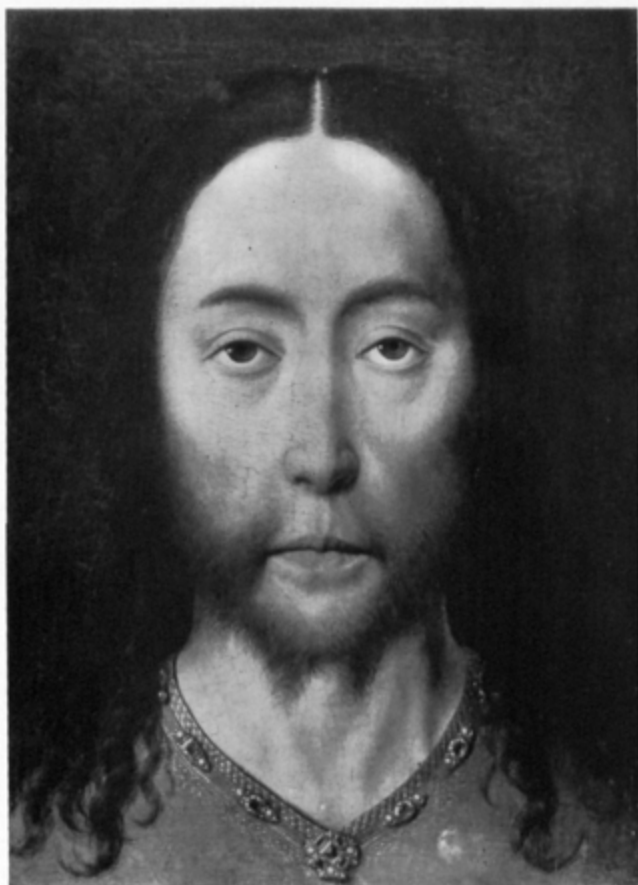


Plate
73



59
| 60

59. A. Bouts. Shutter with Saints and Donors. *Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique.* 60. A. Bouts. Shutter with Saints and Donors. *Bonn, Rheinisches Landesmuseum*



Add. 119 | 61

61 a | Add. 120

Add. 119. D. Bouts. Christ (Vera effigies). Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen. 61. A. Bouts. Christ as Ruler of the Universe. Paris, Private Collection. 61a. A. Bouts, replica. Christ as Ruler of the Universe and Virgin at Prayer. Prüm (Eifel), Bischöfliches Konvikt. Add. 120. A. Bouts. Christ (Vera effigies). Madrid, Duque del Infantado Collection



62 | 62 a

Add. 125 |

62. A. Bouts. Christ Crowned with Thorns. *Kansas City, Mo., Nelson Gallery - Atkins Museum, Nelson Fund.*

62 a. A. Bouts, copy. *Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten.* Add. 125. A. Bouts, copy. *Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen*



63. A. Bouts. Christ Crowned with Thorns, Virgin at Prayer, with Reverse and Annunciation. Aachen, Suermondt-Museum



63 a | 63 b

63 c | 63 f | 63 h

63 a. A. Bouts. Christ Crowned with Thorns, Virgin at Prayer. *Luxembourg, Private Collection*. 63 b. A. Bouts. Christ Crowned with Thorns. *New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Michael Friedsam Collection*. 63 c. A. Bouts. Christ Crowned with Thorns. *Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen*. 63 f. A. Bouts. Christ Crowned with Thorns. *Würzburg, Martin von Wagner-Museum der Universität*. 63 h. A. Bouts. Virgin at Prayer. *Cracow, National Museum, Czartoryski Collection*



63 p
63 i | 63 o | Add. 127
Add. 126

63 p. A. Bouts. Triptych. Christ Crowned with Thorns. Shutters with Angels. Reverse, Sts. Hubert and Catherine. *New York, Historical Society.* 63 i. A. Bouts. Christ Crowned with Thorns. *Lyons, Musée des Beaux-Arts.* 63 o. A. Bouts. Christ Crowned with Thorns. *London, National Gallery.* Add. 127. A. Bouts. Christ Crowned with Thorns. *Brussels, Abbey Church of Notre-Dame de la Cambre.* Add. 126. A. Bouts. Christ Crowned with Thorns. Reverse, Head of Christ. *Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts*



64 | 65
67

64. A. Bouts. *Virgin and Child*. Worcester, Mass., Art Museum. 65. A. Bouts. *Virgin and Child*. Montreal, Hosmer-Pillow Collection. 67. A. Bouts. *Virgin and Child*. Los Angeles, County Museum of Art, Allan C. Balch Collection



68 | 68 a

68 c | Add. 128

68. A. Bouts. Head of St. John the Baptist. Oldenburg, Landesmuseum. 68 a. A. Bouts, replica. Barnard Castle, Bowes Museum. 68 c. A. Bouts, replica. Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique. Add. 128. A. Bouts (?). Warsaw, Muzeum Narodowe



Plate
81

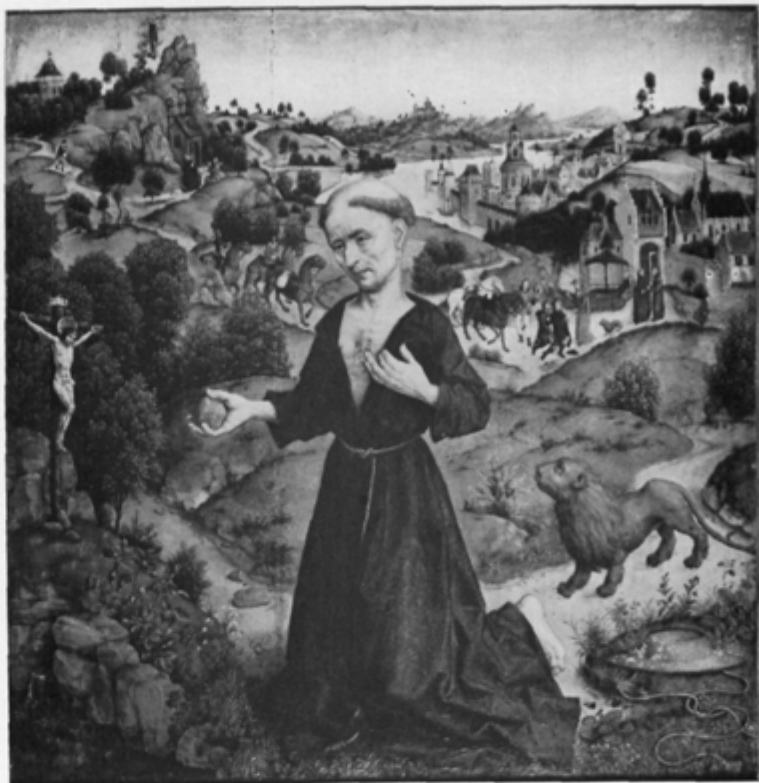


69 | 70

69. A. Bouts. St. Augustine. Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen. 70. A. Bouts. St. Catherine. With Reverse, St. John the Evangelist. Paris, Chalandon Collection (where now?)



71. A. Bouts. St. Christopher. *Modena, Galleria Estense*





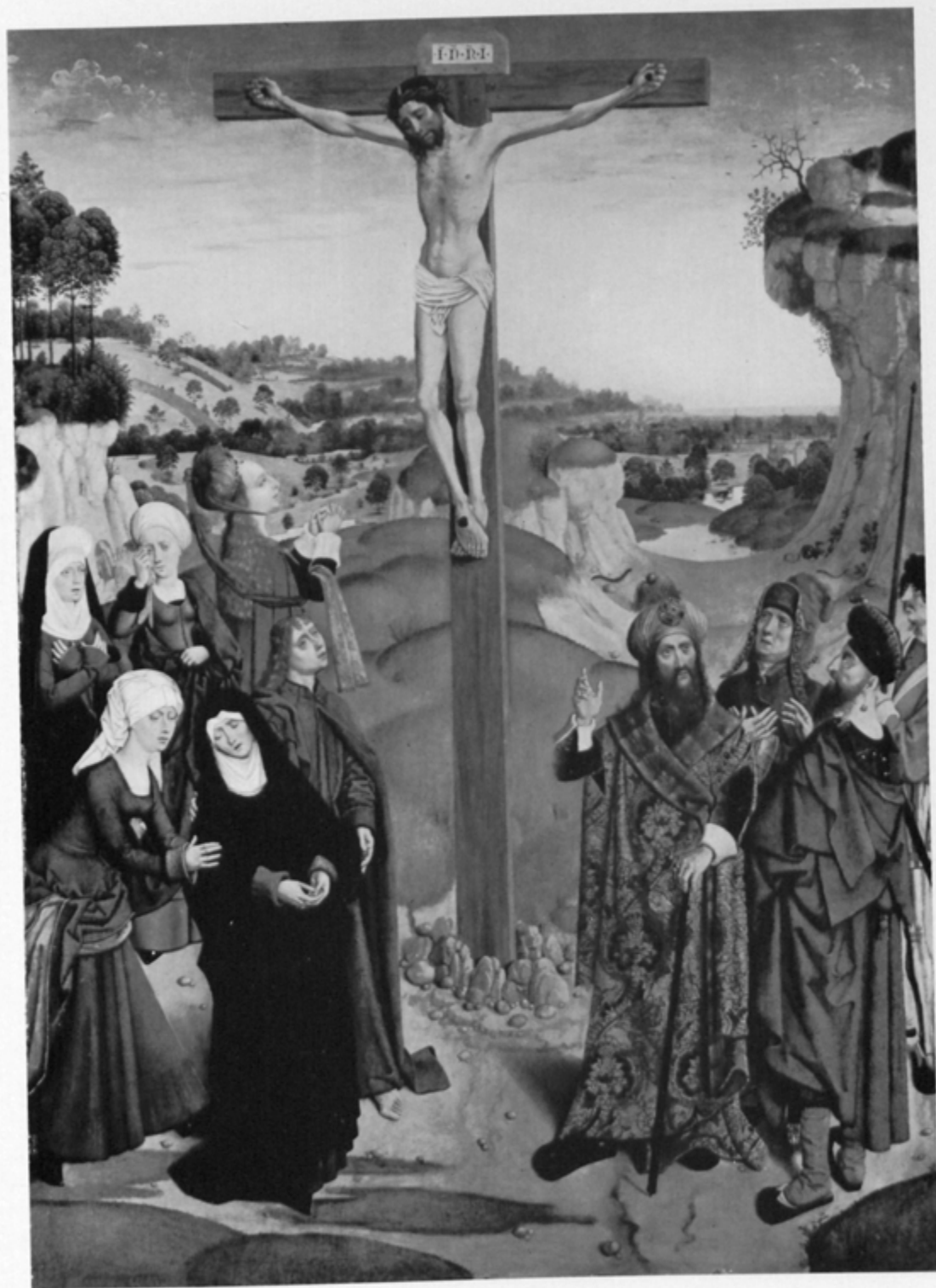
74. Master of the Tiburtine Sibyl. The Tiburtine Sibyl and Emperor Augustus. Frankfurt, Städelches Kunstinstitut



75. Master of the Tiburtine Sibyl. Betrothal of the Virgin. Philadelphia, John G. Johnson Collection



76. Master of the Tiburtine Sibyl. Raising of Lazarus. *Mexico City, Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes, Galerias de Pintura y Escultura de San Carlos*



77. Master of the Tiburtine Sibyl. Crucifixion, Detroit, Institute of Arts



78. D. Bouts, copy. Annunciation. Richmond, Va., Museum of Fine Arts, Williams Fund



A
B | A | Add. 121
C

A. After D. Bouts, by a German Follower. Altarpiece of Ehningen. *Stuttgart, Staatsgalerie* (see pp. 66, No. 56, and 70, No. 78). B. After D. Bouts. Drawing, Virgin of the Annunciation. *Amsterdam, Duval Auction 1910* (see p. 70, No. 78). Add. 121. After D. Bouts (?). Fragment with Still-Life. *Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen*. C. After D. Bouts. Drawing, Annunciation. *Berlin-Dahlem, Kupferstichkabinett* (see p. 70, No. 78).



79 | 80
80a

79. D. Bouts, follower. Annunciation. *Cracow, National Museum, Czartoryski Collection.*

80. D. Bouts, follower. Nativity. *Los Angeles, County Museum of Art.* 80 a. D. Bouts, follower. Nativity. *New York, Wildenstein Gallery (?)*



Plate
91



81

82

81. D. Bouts, imitator. Adoration of the Kings. Cincinnati, Ohio, Art Museum, Bequest of Mary M. Emery. 82. After D. Bouts. Jesus and St. John the Baptist. Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen



83
83 a

83. D. Bouts, workshop. Christ Crowned with Thorns, Virgin Weeping. *London, National Gallery.*
83 a. D. Bouts, workshop. Christ Crowned with Thorns, Virgin Weeping. *Paris, Musée du Louvre*



Plate
93

83 f
83 h

83 f. D. Bouts. *Virgin Weeping*. Geneva, *Private Collection*. 83 h. D. Bouts, copy. *Virgin Weeping*. Madrid, *Weisberger Collection*



84. D. Bouts, follower (?). Virgin with St. Luke. *Peurhyn, Bangor (N. Wales)*, Douglas-Pennant Collection



85. D. Bouts, follower. *Virgin and Child*. Zürich, *W. Boveri Collection*. 86. D. Bouts, follower. *Virgin and Child*. *Hayward's Heath, Sussex, R. Clarke Collection*. 87. D. Bouts, follower. *Virgin and Child*. *Hayward's Heath, Sussex, R. Clarke Collection*. 87a. D. Bouts, follower, replica. *Virgin and Child*. Formerly *Litoměřice, Czechoslovakia, Cathedral*



88 | 89

90 | 91

88. D. Bouts, follower. Virgin and Child. *London, Spanish Art Gallery.* 89. D. Bouts, follower. Virgin and Child. *Great-Britain, Barlow Collection.* 90. D. Bouts, follower. Virgin and Child. *Castagnola, Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Schloss Rohoncz Foundation.* 91. D. Bouts, follower. Virgin and Child. *Granada, Capilla Real*



92 | 93

93a | 93b | 93d

92. D. Bouts, follower. *Virgin and Child*. Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten. 93. D. Bouts, follower. *Virgin and Child*. Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen. 93a. D. Bouts, follower. *Virgin and Child*. New York, J. Linsky Collection. 93b. D. Bouts, follower. *Virgin and Child*. Paris, Musée du Louvre. 93d. D. Bouts, follower. *Virgin and Child*. Paris, Dollfus Auction, 1912



94 |
95 a | 95

94. D. Bouts, follower (Albert?). *Virgin and Child*. Paris, *Comte de Pourtalès Collection* (?). 95. D. Bouts, follower. *Virgin and Child*. Paris, *Engel-Gros Auction*, 1921. 95 a. D. Bouts, follower. *Virgin and Child*. New York, *Metropolitan Museum of Art*, *Jules S. Bache Collection*



96 | 96 a
| 96 b

96. D. Bouts, follower. *Virgin and Child*. Geneva, *Private Collection*. 96a. D. Bouts, follower. *Virgin and Child*. Copenhagen, *Statens Museum for Kunst*. 96b. D. Bouts, follower. *Virgin and Child*. New York, *Chiesa Auction*, 1927



97 | 98

97. D. Bouts (?). St. Christopher. Philadelphia, John G. Johnson Collection. 98. D. Bouts, follower. St. Jerome. Leipzig, R. Brockhaus Collection (where now?)



99. Joos van Gent. Communion of the Apostles. Urbino, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche



100. Joos van Gent. Altarpiece of the Crucifixion. With Predella by an Anonymous Painter. Ghent, St. Bavo Cathedral



100. Joos van Gent, Altarpiece of the Crucifixion, Centrepiece. Ghent, *St. Bavo Cathedral*



100. Joos van Gent. Altarpiece of the Crucifixion, Shutters with Moses Sweetening the Waters at Mara and The Brazen Serpent. *Ghent, St. Bavo Cathedral*



Plate
105



101

102 | 99a

101. Joos van Gent. Adoration of the Kings. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, George Blumenthal Bequest.

102. Joos van Gent (?). Adoration of the Kings. Formerly Paris, Odier Collection. 99a. Joos van Gent, copy. Christ in Half-Length. Urbino, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche



103. Joos van Gent. *Illustrations Men, Solon*. Paris, *Musée du Louvre*



103. Joos van Gent. Illustrious Men, Bartolus. Urbino, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche



103. Joos van Gent. Illustrious Men, St. Albertus Magnus, *Urbino*,
Galleria Nazionale delle Marche



103. Joos van Gent. *Illustrious Men*, Sixtus IV. Paris, *Musée du Louvre*



103. Joos van Gent. Illustrious Men, Plato. *Paris, Musée du Louvre.* Aristotle, *Paris, Musée du Louvre.* St. Gregory. *Urbino, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche.* St. Jerome, *Paris, Musée du Louvre*



Plate
III



103. Joos van Gent. *Illustrious Men*, Ptolemy. *Paris, Musée du Louvre*. Boethius. *Urbino, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche*. St. Ambrose. *Urbino, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche*. St. Augustine. *Paris, Musée du Louvre*



103. Joos van Gent. Illustrious Men, Cicero. Urbino, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche. Seneca. Paris, Musée du Louvre. Moses. Urbino, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche. Solomon. Urbino, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche



Plate
113



103. Joos van Gent. Illustrious Men, Homer. Urbino, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche. Virgil, Paris, Musée du Louvre. St. Thomas Aquinas. Paris, Musée du Louvre. Duns Scotus. Urbino, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche



103. Joos van Gent. *Illustrious Men*. Euclid. Urbino, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche. Vittorino. Paris, Musée du Louvre. Pius II. Urbino, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche. Bessarion. Paris, Musée du Louvre



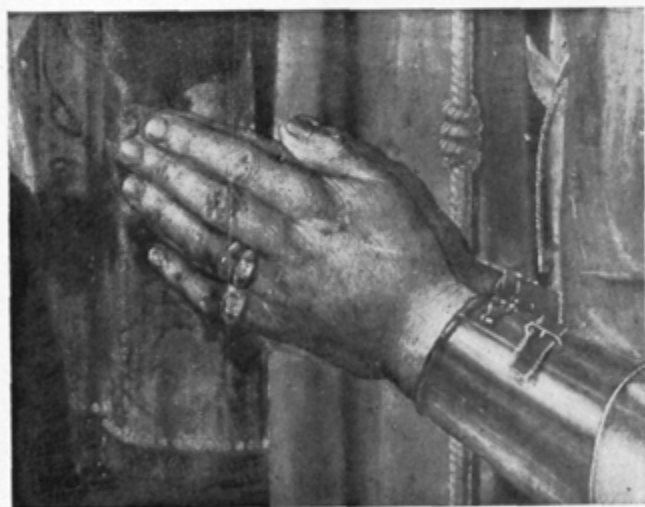
103. Joos van Gent. Illustrious Men, Hippocrates. Urbino, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche. Pietro d'Albano. Paris, Musée du Louvre. Dante. Paris, Musée du Louvre. Petrarcha. Urbino, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche



104. Joos van Gent. Portrait of Federigo da Montefeltre with His Son.
Urbino, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche



Plate
117





105. Joos van Gent. Seven Liberal Arts, Rhetoric. *London, National Gallery*



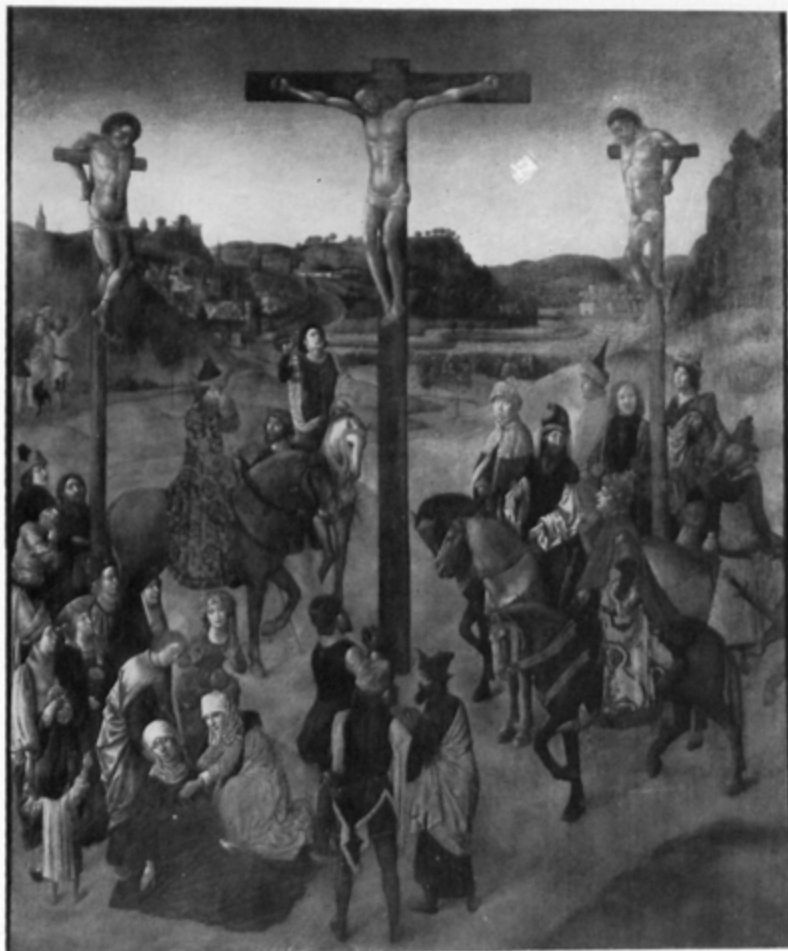
105. Joos van Gent. Seven Liberal Arts. Dialectic. *Formerly Berlin (Destroyed)*



105. Joos van Gent. Seven Liberal Arts, Astronomy. *Formerly Berlin (Destroyed)*



105. Joos van Gent. Seven Liberal Arts, Music. London, National Gallery



Supp. 108 | Add. 116

Supp. 109

Supp. 108. D. Bouts. Crucifixion. Bergamo, Private Collection (?). Add. 116. D. Bouts (?). Resurrection of Christ. London, Matthiesen Gallery, ca. 1946. Supp. 109. D. Bouts. Christ, Fragment. Dortmund, Dr. H. Becker Collection



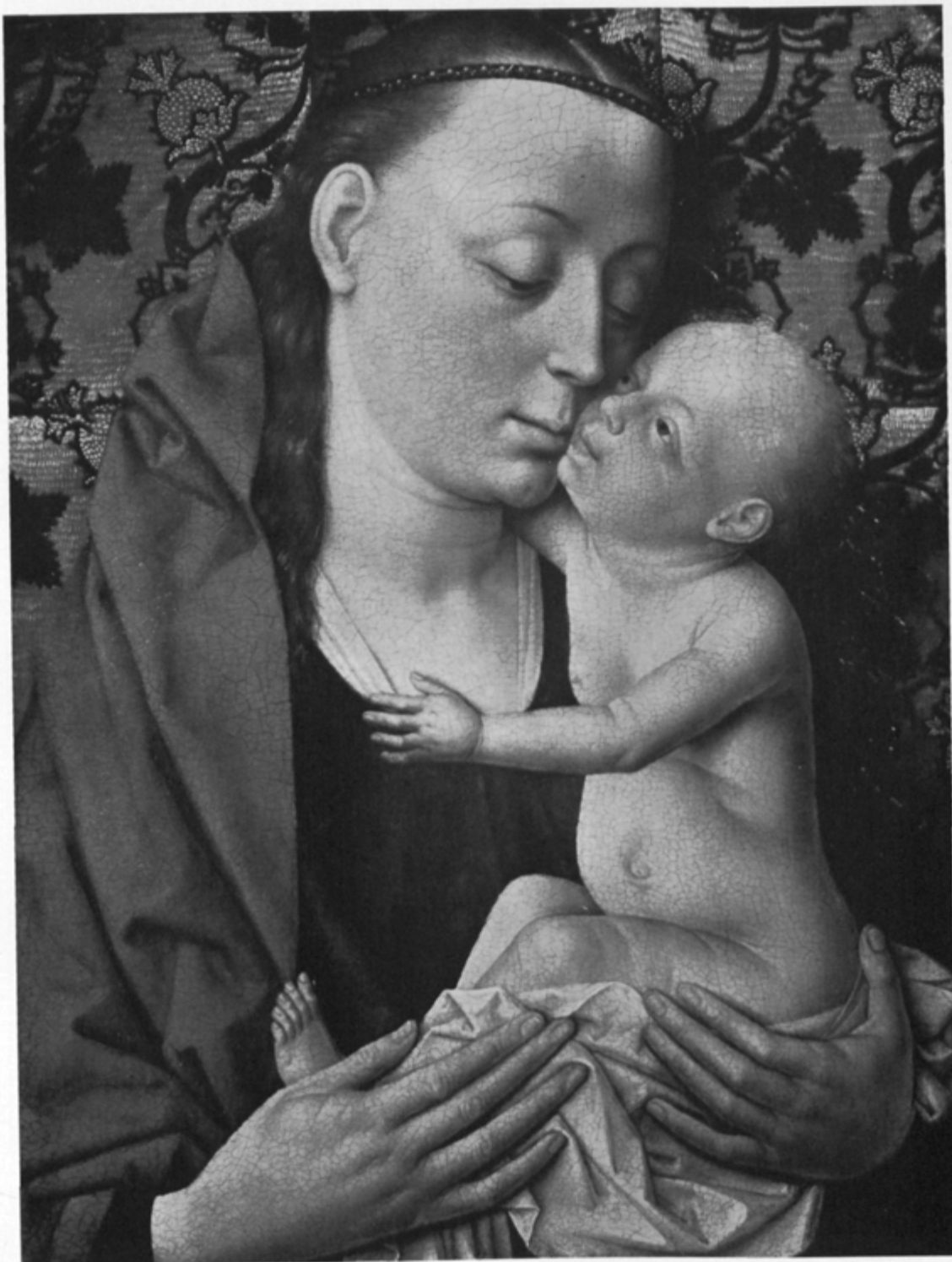
Supp. 112 | Supp. 110
Supp. 111

Supp. 112. A. Bouts. St. Peter and a Donor. *Basle, Wocher Collection*. Supp. 110. A. Bouts. Baptism of Christ. Christ and the Woman of Samaria. *Berne, Kunstmuseum, Abegg-Stiftung*. Supp. 111. A. Bouts. Lamentation. *Berlin (East), Staatliche Museen, Bode-Museum*



Supp. 113 | Supp. 114

Supp. 113. A. Bouts. Virgin and Child with St. Anne. *Honolulu, Academy of Arts.* Supp. 114. Master of the Tiburtine Sibyl. Virgin and Child with St. Anne. *Geneva, Private Collection*



Add. 115. D. Bouts. Virgin and Child. *Geneva, Private Collection*



Add. 118

Add. 112 | A

Add. 118. D. Bouts, copy. Last Judgment. Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Pinakothek. Add. 122. A. Bouts. St. Joseph Drawing Water, Fragment. Wareham, Dorset, Colonel J. Weld Collection. A. After A. Bouts. Drawing. Rest during the Flight into Egypt. Bayonne, Musée Bonnat (see p. 77, Add. 122)



Add. 132. Attributed to Joos van Gent. Crucifixion with Saints and Donors. *Madrid, Herreros de Tejada Collection.*



Add. 123 | Add. 123 | Add. 131

A

Add. 131

Add. 123. A. Bouts. St. John the Baptist. Reverse with Instruments of the Passion. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.
 Add. 131. Jan Rombouts. Christ Appearing to St. Peter. Reverse, St. Nicholas (?), Fragment. Louvain, Museum vander Kelen-Mertens. A. Portrait of Dieric Bouts. Engraving by H. Cock, 1572

Early Netherlandish Painting

This new edition of Friedländer's monumental work 'Die Alt-niederländische Malerei' is based on the following principles: Friedländer's text stands unchanged in English translation. The catalogues are brought up-to-date, especially in respect of the location of the paintings. The total of 1260 illustrations in the original edition has been brought up to more than 3600. Concise editorial comments on recent research and notes on the individual works are placed at the end of each volume. An index completes each volume, and in addition a general index covering the whole of the 14 volumes will be incorporated in Volume XIV.

I The van Eycks—Petrus Christus

II Rogier van der Weyden and the Master of Flémalle

III Dieric Bouts and Joos van Gent

IV Hugo van der Goes

V Geertgen van Haarlem and Hieronymus Bosch

VI Memling and Gerard David

VII Quentin Massys

VIII Jan Gossart and Bernard van Orley

IX Joos van Cleve, Jan Provost, Joachim Patenier

X Lucas van Leyden and other Dutch Masters of the Time

XI The Antwerp Mannerists—Adriaen Ysenbrant

XII Jan van Scorel and Pieter Coeck van Aelst

XIII Anthonis Mor and his Contemporaries

XIV Pieter Bruegel—General Index

